

**A SYNTACTIC STUDY OF THE NOMINAL PIECE AND ITS
TEMPORALS IN DARSIYYAH ARABIC BASED ON
THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT AND BINDING**

BY

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the Nominal Piece and its Temporals in Darṣiyyah Arabic based on the Theory of Government and Binding. Darṣiyyah is the hometown of the Saudi Royal Family and the informants participating in the collection of data from this Arabic dialect are aged women who have had very little exposure to foreign influences, such as Classical or Egyptian Arabic. This restriction on the informants is because the new generation no longer speaks this dialect of Arabic.

The analysis of this dialect of Arabic ie Darṣiyyah Arabic Dialect (D.A.D.) has shown that sentential configurations are of two different kinds: verbal or nominal. The verbal sentence has a VP category while the Nominal sentence has no VP category at any level of syntactic representation, rather it has an NP or a PP predicate. The NP predicate may have a noun, an adjective, an ordinal numeral, or a participle as its head because all these word classes in D.A.D. represent nominals. As for the PP predicate, it is composed of a preposition and its complement.

The assumption that the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not derived from a sentential configuration that has a VP category at its Logical Form (ie LF) is verified by two basic premises. The first is the fact that the D.A.D. nominal sentence subsumes to different syntactic rules from those applicable to the verbal sentence. The second is the fact that time is indicated in the nominal sentence by means of an NP that is generated in its Comp. and is called a "temporal NP"; therefore, there is no logical necessity for the assumption that the nominal sentence has a VP category at its LF.

The first premise may be exemplified by the fact that the rule of subject inversion is only applicable to the verbal sentence, and not to the nominal sentence. It may also be demonstrated by the fact that the reflexive clitic in the nominal sentence is different from the verbal sentence ie in the nominal sentence, it is a nominal and in the verbal sentence it is a verbal affix. Furthermore, the NP predicate in a nominal sentence is assigned nominative Case whereas it is assigned objective Case in the verbal sentence.

As for the indication of time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence, it is solely dependent on the presence of a

temporal NP in its Comp., contrary to the verbal sentence, in which it is partly indicated by the temporal NP in its Comp. and partly by the verb form ie whether it be perfective or imperfective. This not only demonstrates the difference in the syntactic behaviour between a nominal sentence and a verbal one but also verifies the second premise ie as an NP in D.A.D. syntax is capable of indicating time, there is no need for the assumption that the nominal sentence in D.A.D. has a VP category at its LF or even an "abstract" VP category at all its levels of syntactic representation.

The non-feasibility of the presence of an "abstract" VP category in the D.A.D. nominal sentence for the sake of its time indication is not only refuted on the basis of the fact that the NP in D.A.D. syntax may also indicate time but also on the basis of the fact that a category may be empty if and only if its features are semantically recoverable by another element in the same sentence. Such is the case with the NP category when it is empty, for example in D.A.D., we have an argument small pro, an impersonal small pro, an NP-trace and a variable, all of which partition the syntactic distribution of the NP category and whose features are

recoverable by a local determiner or an antecedent. If on the other hand, we assume that the VP category may also be empty, then its features must be recoverable by another element in the sentence. But this is not possible in D.A.D. syntax because the verb form is associated with either the Perfective or the Imperfective aspect whereas the D.A.D. temporals, which are generated in Comp. as an NP, are associated with the syntactic features of present, past, future or continuous time reference; therefore, neither the temporal nor the verb can substitute for the other because each conveys a different time perspective.

Accordingly, it is maintained that whenever the perfective or the Imperfective aspect is required, then the sentential configuration has a VP category at every level of its syntactic representation and in such a case we have a verbal sentence. But whenever these aspects are not required, then there is no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation and we have a nominal sentence, whose present, past, future and continuous time reference is indicated by the presence of a temporal NP in its Comp.

The temporal in D.A.D. has been regarded as being of the NP category because it may have as its head a temporal nominal, which represents one of the subclasses in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. syntax. That is, as the time expressions in D.A.D. syntax have some of the syntactic behaviour of the noun in its syntactic system, they have been regarded as nominals and are called temporal nominals. In turn the category they are generated in is an NP category and it is called a temporal NP. This in turn leads to the verification of the fact that there is no logical necessity for the assumption that every clause has a VP category (at least at its LF for its time indication) even when it does not appear at its surface structure.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a syntactic study of the Darʕiyyah Arabic Nominal Piece with special reference to its temporals in order to show the autonomy of the Nominal sentences in the syntactic system of this dialect. The dialect of Arabic called Darʕiyyah Arabic (ie D.A.D.) refers to the Arabic spoken in Darʕiyyah, a town in Najd of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. In the description and the analysis of D.A.D. syntax, the theory of Government and Binding (ie G.B.) of Chomsky (1981a) and (1982) has been used as a framework.

1.0.1: D.A.D. in relation to the other dialects of Arabic in Saudi Arabia

Darʕiyyah is a city in Najd, which is in the center of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom and has been described as its largest region. Najd is divided into the following areas:

(i) /ilʕariid/ area, in which the city of Darʕiyyah is found.

(ii) /ilxarj/ (iii) /ilhariiʒ/ (iv) /ilaflaaʒ/

(v) /waadi-idoowassar/ (vi) /ilwaʕb/ (vii) /siddeer/

(viii) /ilʕassim/, with /ʕaneeza/ as the most important

city. (ix) /jabal šammar/, where /haayil/ is found.

(x) /iljoof/ (xi) /ilfarj/.

As the above mentioned areas form one geographical region, they naturally share a historical background and in turn the Arabic dialects spoken in these areas share some of the syntactic and phonological features, according to which they are regarded as forming a kind of isoglass separating these dialects from the others spoken in the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. This illustrates why P. Abboud (1964) attempts an analysis of the syntax of Najdi Arabic in general. In 1971, he also attempted an analysis of the verbal system in Najdi Arabic. And in 1971, al-Mohamad also attempted an analysis of the Noun phrase in Najdi Arabic.

The dialects of Najd, furthermore, are said to extend beyond the boundaries of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. This is shown by a study by T.M. Johnstone in (1967) and by B. Ingham in (1982). That is, the dialects of Najd whether only those in Saudia Arabia, or those that are outside the boundaries of Saudi Arabia share linguistic features that set them apart from the dialects of Arabic that are spoken in the Western region of the Saudi Arabian Kingdom. Accordingly, the former

group of dialects is called the dialects of Najd whereas the latter group of dialects is called the Hijaazi dialects. The latter group of dialects share syntactic features and are described in a single study by M. Seiny (1972).

More specific studies on the Hijaazi and Najdi dialects have also been undertaken. The former may be exemplified by "The Phonological and the morphological Study of Meccan Arabic" by M.H. Bakalla (1973) and 'Meccan Speech' by B. Ingham (1971). The latter may be exemplified by the studies undertaken by S.M. Badawi (1965) on "Colloquial Riyadhhi Arabic" and by T.M. Johnstone on "Syllabication in the Spoken Arabic of Anaiza." These studies illustrate the fact that there are sufficient differences amongst the dialects of Najd and amongst the dialects of Hijaaz to warrant an independent study of each of these dialects.

In selecting the dialect of Darḥiyyah, the writer has depended on the geographical, historical and social importance of the city of Darḥiyyah. This importance is the result of its being the hometown of the Saudi Royal Family and is, therefore, a town that is located very near to the capital ie Riyadh. As a matter of fact, the

new city design plans for Riyadh have incorporated Dar-Şiyyah within its boundaries.

Historically, DarŞiyyah is one of the most important cities of Najd because it is linked to the Reformation movement that took place in the area of Najd. In the middle of the 9th century of Hijra, a tribe called /ildiruuş/ settled in the area called /darŞiyyah/ and gave their name to this city. The ruler of this tribe was the ancestor of the Saudi Royal Family.

In 1157, Mohamed Ibn SaŞuud, the great grandfather of King Abdul Azziz, established the first Saudi Arabian rule after he had made a treaty with Sheikh Abdul Wahhaab, who had started a movement aimed at correcting some deviant practices of the Muslims there. Mohamed Ibn SaŞuud said that he would give Sheikh Abdul Wahhaab help and protection in this Reform movement not only in DarŞiyyah but in all of Najd. As a result of the success of this movement in DarŞiyyah, students from all over Najd came to DarŞiyyah seeking the religious education of this Sheikh, whose hometown became the city of enlightenment. In 1351 (ie 1923), King Abdul Azziz Al SaŞuud finally unified all of Najd and Al-Hijaaz into one country, calling it the Saudi Arabian Kingdom.

The inhabitants of Darṣiyyah are either tribal or urban people but the population is essentially composed of the former. Consequently, the Arabic dialect that is spoken in Darṣiyyah is that of their grandfathers, whose traditions have been faithfully preserved by the older generations. This is due to the fact that the present older generation still maintains a very closed and conventional society; eighty per cent of which are illiterates, five per cent literates and fifteen per cent semi-literates.

With the spread of literacy, however, many of the members of the new generation have moved to Riyadh. And as Riyadh has a cosmopolitan atmosphere, the Arabic dialect of Darṣiyyah as spoken by the older generation is gradually perishing with the death of the remaining members of the older generation especially as Classical and Egyptian Arabic have influenced by way of education the members of the new generation. Accordingly, in the collection of data from D.A.D. concentration has been on illiterate and aged women subjects. The literate subjects have only helped as interpreters.

The method that has been used for the collection of the data is that of tape recorded speech¹ covering a variety of topics. This speech is usually spontaneous but sometimes elicited information.

The notation that has been used in this thesis can be illustrated by the following:

(A) Vocalic phonemes

/i/ and /ii/ high front, unrounded short and long vowels respectively.

/u/ and /uu/ high back, rounded short and long vowels respectively.

/ee/ mid front, unrounded long vowel.

/oo/ mid back, rounded long vowel.

/a/ and /aa/ low central unrounded short and long vowels respectively.

There are a great variety of allophonic realizations of each phoneme but they are not our concern in this study.

¹As the people of Darçiyah form a very closed society such tape recordings have been obtained only by a special permission from the princess responsible for the Center of Social Development in Darçiyah.

(B) Consonantal phonemes

Stops

/b/ voiced, bilabial stop.

/t/ and /d/ voiceless and voiced apical dental stops

/k/ and /g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops.

/j/ and /ʔ/ voiced palatal and voiceless glottal stops.

Fricatives

/f/ and /θ/ voiceless labiodental and interdental fricatives.

/s/ and /z/ voiceless and voiced dental grooved fricatives.

/ʃ/, /x/ and /h/ voiceless palatal, uvular and glottal fricatives.

/ð/ and /ɣ/ voiced interdental and uvular fricatives

/ħ/ and /ʕ/ voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives.

Emphatics

/t̤/ dental, apical emphatic stop.

/s̤/ and /z̤/ dental and interdental emphatic fricatives.

Affricates

/t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ voiceless and voiced apical affricates.

Resonants

/r/ and /l/ trilled and lateral resonants.

Nasals

/m/ and /n/ bilabial and dental nasals.

Semi-vowels

/w/ and /y/ velar and palatal semi-vowels.

1.0.2: The Theory of Government and Binding (G.B.) and
D.A.D. Syntax

The theory of Government and Binding (ie the GB framework) of 1981 and 1982 is an extension of the Extended Standard Theory, which is in turn an extension of Chomsky's theory expounded in Syntactic Structures (1957). In Syntactic Structures, Chomsky expressed his dissatisfaction with the analysis that concentrated on Immediate Constituents (IC) as its only tool of analysis since it fails to deal with syntactic structures such as coordination, passivization and relativization. Accordingly, he introduced three levels of grammatical analysis:

- a) phrase structure
- b) transformation
- c) morphophonemics.

He was also dissatisfied with the logic of the previous school as it was inductive and physically oriented. This is due to the fact that the whole school was influenced by Behaviourist psychology. As a reaction to this school and under the influence of the mentalistic school of psychology, Chomsky emphasizes the idea that language is

intuitive and creative; therefore, his method in general is deductive and not inductive.

In 1965, in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Chomsky draws attention to the fact that the grammar of a language is a description of the speaker-hearer's intrinsic "competence". He also points out the fact that generative grammar is a system of rules that can be analyzed into three major components: the syntactic, phonological and semantic components. The syntactic component must specify, for each sentence, a deep structure that determines its semantic interpretation and a surface structure that determines its phonetic interpretation. The first of these is interpreted by the semantic component; the second, by the phonological component.

But in 1982 (ie Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding), Chomsky says that two perspectives can be distinguished in the study of grammar; one emphasizing rule systems and the other, systems of principles. In the recent versions of EST, the rule system consists of three basic parts:

[1] (A) Lexicon.

(B) Syntax (i) Base Component.

(ii) Transformational component.

(C) Interpretative Components:

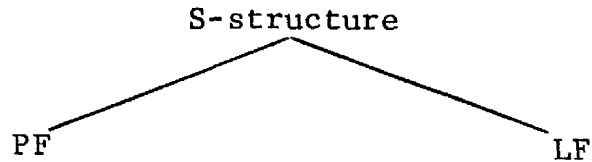
(i) Phonetic Form ie (PF) Component.

(ii) Logical Form ie (LF) Component.

The subcomponents of the rule system exemplify the notion of finiteness because a language makes infinite use of finite means. The rules of the LF component do not vary substantially from language to language. The rules of the PF component vary within finite bounds, and move α rule collapses the transformational component into a single rule with parametric variation. The categorial component (ie the base) is made meagre by the theory of X-bar as it makes only a finite class of base systems possible. And finally the lexicon also has the notion of "finiteness" as regards its subcategorization frames; therefore, the lexicon gives an infinite variety in the trivial sense.

Furthermore, as the goal of a grammar is to express the association between representation of form and representation of meaning, Chomsky proposes the following three fundamental components:

[2] Syntax



That is, the PF and LF components are mediated at a more abstract level called S-structure.

Accordingly, the theory of UG must specify the properties of, at least, three systems of representations ie S-structure, PF and LF. It must also specify the three systems of rules; the rules of the syntactic component generating S-structures; the rules of PF component mapping S-structures to PF, and the rules of the LF component mapping S-structures to LF.

In (1981a) and (1982), Chomsky has as his central focus the nature of S-structure and LF as well as the rules of grammar determining and relating them; therefore, he focuses on the principles that hold of rules and representations and that fall under the following subsystems:

[3] (a) θ -theory.

(b) Case theory.

(c) Binding theory.

(d) Government theory.

- (e) Control theory.
- (f) Bounding theory.
- (g) X-bar theory.

θ -theory, along with the Projection Principle, make the lexicon play an important role in the syntax because it is the lexicon that specifies the inherent properties of lexical items by stating the θ -marking properties of these lexical items that serve as heads of constructions. The theory of Case is concerned with the assignment of Case to elements that are in Case-marking positions. The theory of binding is concerned with the relations of anaphors and pronominals to their antecedents. The central notion of government theory is the relation between the head of a construction and the categories dependent on it. The theory of control is concerned with the choice of the antecedent for Pro ie the abstract pronominal element of [+ pronominal] and [+ anaphor] that is ungoverned. The theory of bounding specifies the locality conditions on the movement rules; therefore, it holds only of the antecedent-trace relation. The theories of government, binding, Case and that of θ -theory will be discussed in more detail in a separate section in this introduction because they are relevant

to the discussion of D.A.D. syntax. As for the theories of Control, bounding and X-bar, nothing more will be said about them since they are not relevant to the discussion.¹

The above subsystems of principles also interact in a variety of ways; for example the concept of government plays a central unifying role throughout in the system ie θ -role and Case assignment are under government. Certain relations also obtain between the sub-theories of (3) and the subsystems of the rules in (1), such as the relation between θ -theory and the Lexicon.

Chomsky also wishes to attain a theory of Language as a subpart of the theory of Language Acquisition. It is in this respect that he seeks to integrate the theory of markedness and Core Grammar into his Theory of Language Acquisition. That is, as his theory of markedness distinguishes between marked and unmarked phenomena and as his theory of Core Grammar is an attempt to establish a core of linguistic principles that characterize the full range of unmarked phenomena found in natural lan-

¹For example, the theory of Control deals with the ungoverned Pro whereas D.A.D. has a properly governed pro. For a discussion of the properly governed pro see pp. 81-111 of Introduction.

guages, he suggests that children may be innately endowed with just such a theory of markedness and Core grammar which defines for them the set of unmarked rules that would be found in natural languages. This way children would then have genetic help in learning unmarked or core rules and hence would master these relatively quickly.

The above mentioned assumption may be demonstrated by a previous study undertaken by the writer on the acquisition of the phonological system of Egyptian Arabic;¹ in which it was shown that the children under study acquired the labial stops, laryngeal and nasal consonants prior to the acquisition of the pharyngeal and alveopalatal consonants. That is, the emphatic and fricative consonants are the marked forms and so they are acquired after the unmarked forms. This is because children proceed to include more and more phonemes into their system and go about it in a universally consistent pattern that starts with the greatest possible distinctions to smaller and subtler distinctions. This is due

¹See H. Ghaly: The Morpho-Phonemic Patternings in the Speech of Two-Native Egyptian Arabic Speaking Children: M.A. Dissertation (1977), American University in Cairo.

to the fact that "every phonemic system is a stratified structure, that is, it consists of layers of superimposed layers. The hierarchy of these layers is nearly universal and consistent." (Jakobson in Bar-Adon, 1971:78). Therefore, "U.G. is taken to be a characterization of the child's prelinguistic initial state" (Chomsky, 1981a:7) ie "a fixed schematism that he uses ... acquiring language". (Chomsky, 1970:192) and which determines the "set of possible parameters of variation across languages". (A. Radford, 1981:30).

However, despite the fact that evidence from psycholinguistics may be used in the delimitation of the domain of Core grammar, as distinct from marked peripheral elements in language, Chomsky proposes that we rely on grammar internal considerations and comparative evidence.^(c) ^{» (Chomsky, 1981a:9)} This is because evidence from psycholinguistics is for the time being insufficient. It is in this respect that the study of D.A.D., which is an Arabic dialect that has not been studied before, is believed to shed some light on "the search for meta principles which predict and hence explain as many properties as possible" (Postal and Kayser, 1976:400) "of the human biological endowment ie 'the language faculty'" (Chomsky,

1982:7). This is due to the fact that "work based on data from a wide range of languages" is crucial "if vitally important generalizations are not to be missed". (B. Comrie, 1981:27).

One of the most important generalizations associated with D.A.D. is the fact that the sentences in its syntactic system may either be verbal or nominal.¹ That is, it has nominal sentences, which have no VP category at any level of their syntactic representations, as well as verbal sentences, which have a VP category at every level of their syntactic representations. The fact that there are two different types of sentences (ie verbal and nominal) is not in keeping with Chomsky (1981a) in his belief that every sentence has a VP category, at least, at LF.² It has, nevertheless, been the fact that the G.B. theory of Chomsky (1981a) deals with the NP category³ that has made it the most appropriate model for

¹For a discussion of D.A.D. Nominal sentence patterns see Chapter II, part I.

²See Chomsky (1981a), p. 137.

³The theory of government discusses the government of NPs by heads of constructions; the theory of binding deals with the A-binding of NPs; the theory of Case deals with the assignment of Case to NPs and θ -theory deals with the θ -marking of NPs that have arguments. See pp. 36-162 of Introduction for further discussion of the above mentioned theories.

the analysis of the D.A.D. nominal sentence. This is because it is regarded as an NP sentence in that it has an NP subject and an NP predicate.

However, this does not mean that some of the terms of the G.B. theory as postulated by Chomsky (1981a) and (1982) have not had to be modified to accomodate for the fact that D.A.D. syntax allows both verbal as well as nominal sentences and to account for the differences in syntactic behaviour between a verbal and a nominal sentence. That is, some terms of the G.B. theory have had to be modified, but as one of the virtues of this theory is its modular character, this has provided it with the capacity to account for a variety of complex phenomena, as Chomsky himself states in the following citation:

The G.B. theory has a highly modular character. Simple and rather natural principles interact to provide for a variety of fairly complex phenomena and slight changes in the values of parameters proliferate through the system to yield what appears on the surface to be rather different structures" (Chomsky, 1982:89).

1.0.2.1: The Theory of Government

The core notion of government has clear thematic content. This is illustrated by the following discussion of θ -theory in relation to D.A.D.

1.0.2.1.1: θ -theory

θ -theory deals with the relation between an argument and the element that assigns it a θ -role. This assignment is controlled by the θ -criterion: a basic principle of θ -theory and a level of adequacy at LF.

(1) θ -criterion

The θ -criterion states that each argument bears one and only one θ -role, and each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument.

The arguments are the complements of a lexical head of a construction. This includes in D.A.D. the subcategorized positions of 0-level -categories such as V, N and P.¹

The preverbal position and the postverbal subject position may also be θ -positions as θ -marked by the VP. The prepredicate position in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is also a θ -position as θ -marked by NP or PP predicate.

¹In English, the 0-level categories are N, V, A and P. (see Chomsky, 1981a). In D.A.D., adjectives are nominals. See Chapter II of Part II.

The Comp. A-position is also a θ -position as θ -marked by S node. However, neither the prepredicate position nor the Comp. A- position is a subcategorized position ie they are simply θ -marked positions. This indicates that θ -marking does not entail subcategorization despite the fact that subcategorization entails θ -marking.

In this study, the following θ -roles have proven to be necessary:

(2)

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (i) patient | (vi) that which is identified |
| (ii) beneficiary | (vii) that which is located |
| (iii) location | (viii) topic of discussion |
| (iv) identifier | (ix) temporal |
| (v) agent | (x) possessor |

Numbers (i) - (iv) are θ -roles assigned to NP complements whereas the θ -roles of (v) - (vii) are assigned to NP subjects. As for the θ -roles (viii) and (ix), they are assigned to the NP generated in the Comp. A-position. The θ -role "possessor" is assigned to the complement (pro)nominal in an NP without AGR, except when the head nominal is a participle.¹

¹See the discussion and the examples in Chapter III of Part II.

1.0.2.1.1.1: The θ -marking of the subcategorized
positions

The subcategorized positions are the complements of O-level categories such as V, N and P. The θ -marking of the subcategorized position of a V is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /ilwalad šaaf ilbint/ The boy saw the girl.

(b) */il walad šaaf/ The boy saw.

(c) */il walad našar ilbint/ The boy looked the girl.

As the verb /šaaf/ subcategorizes for an NP complement, the NP /ilbint/ is θ -marked. It is θ -marked the θ -role "patient" by its governor ie V. Sentences (b) and (c) are ill-formed because there is a violation of the θ -criterion. That is, in (b) there is a θ -role and no argument and in (c), there is an argument and no θ -role because the verb /našar/ does not θ -mark its complement. Therefore, the O-level category V as exemplified by /šaaf/ θ -marks its complement, for which it subcategorizes.

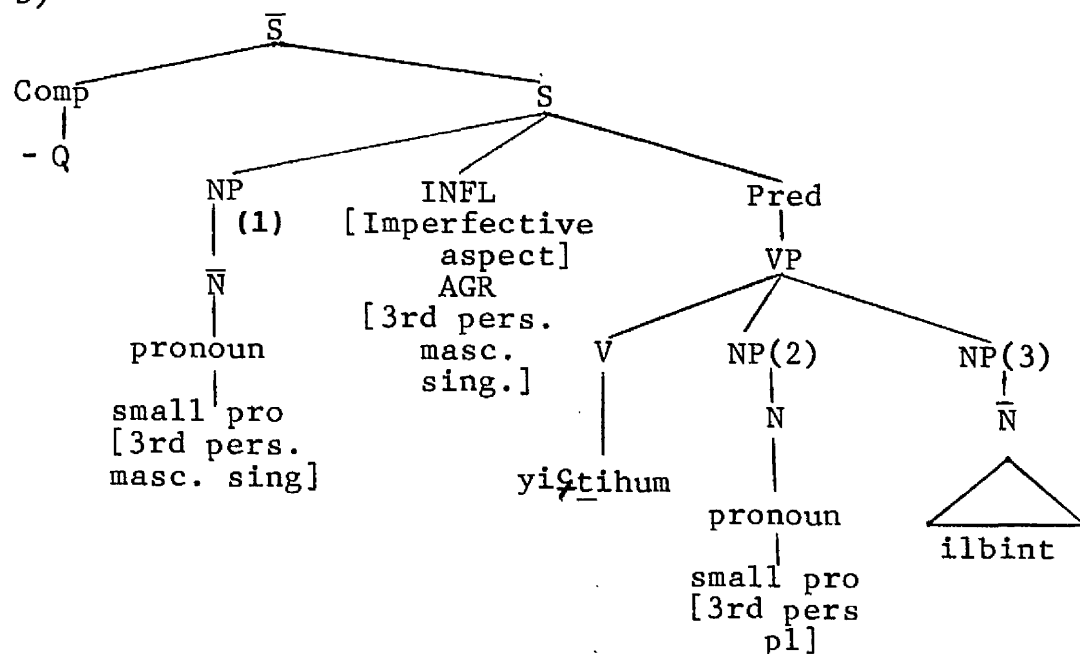
The verb may also subcategorize for two complements. For example, the verb /yištiy/ "to give" subcategorizes

for two complements and this is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(2)

(a) /yiṣṭihum ilbint/ He gave them the girl.

b)



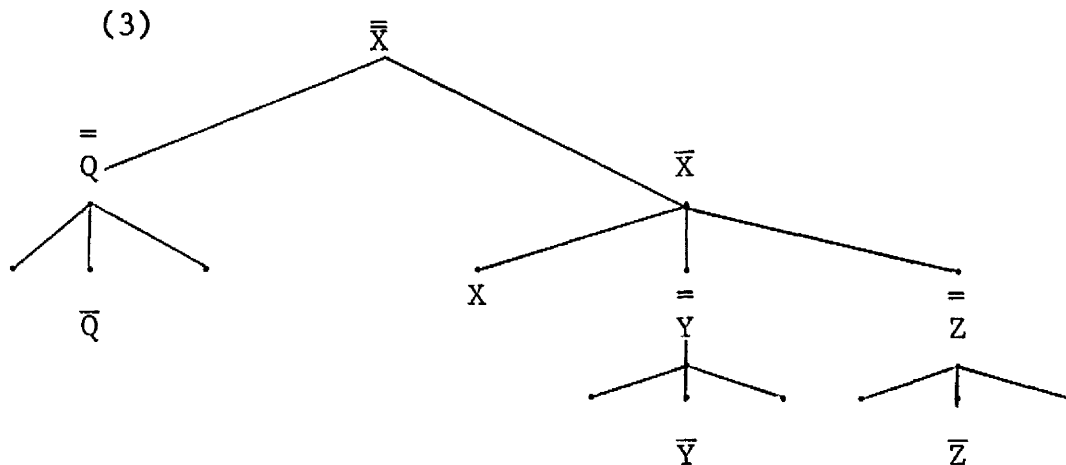
This verb ie /yiṣṭiy/ not only subcategorizes for $NP(2)$ but also for $NP(3)$; therefore it assigns $NP(2)$ the θ -role "beneficiary" and $NP(3)$ the θ -role "patient".

However, as θ -marking is under government, we must adopt the definition of government proposed by Aoun and

Sportiche (1981) and Chomsky (1981a),¹ and not that of "minimal c-command,"² in the θ -marking of the complements of a verb with two complements.

This is because this definition of government allows the verb to govern both NP(2) and NP(3),[↗]

That is, the general effect of this approach to government is that the head of a maximal projection governs exactly the categories that appear within this maximal projection. This is demonstrated by the following configuration, in which X is the head of \bar{X} and so it governs \bar{Y} and \bar{Z} , its complements, and \bar{Q} , its specifier.



¹See "On the Formal Theory of Government" (1981). Mimeograph, M.I.T. See also Chomsky (1981a) p. 164.

²See A. Radford (1981:367) for a definition of c-command and "minimal c-command."

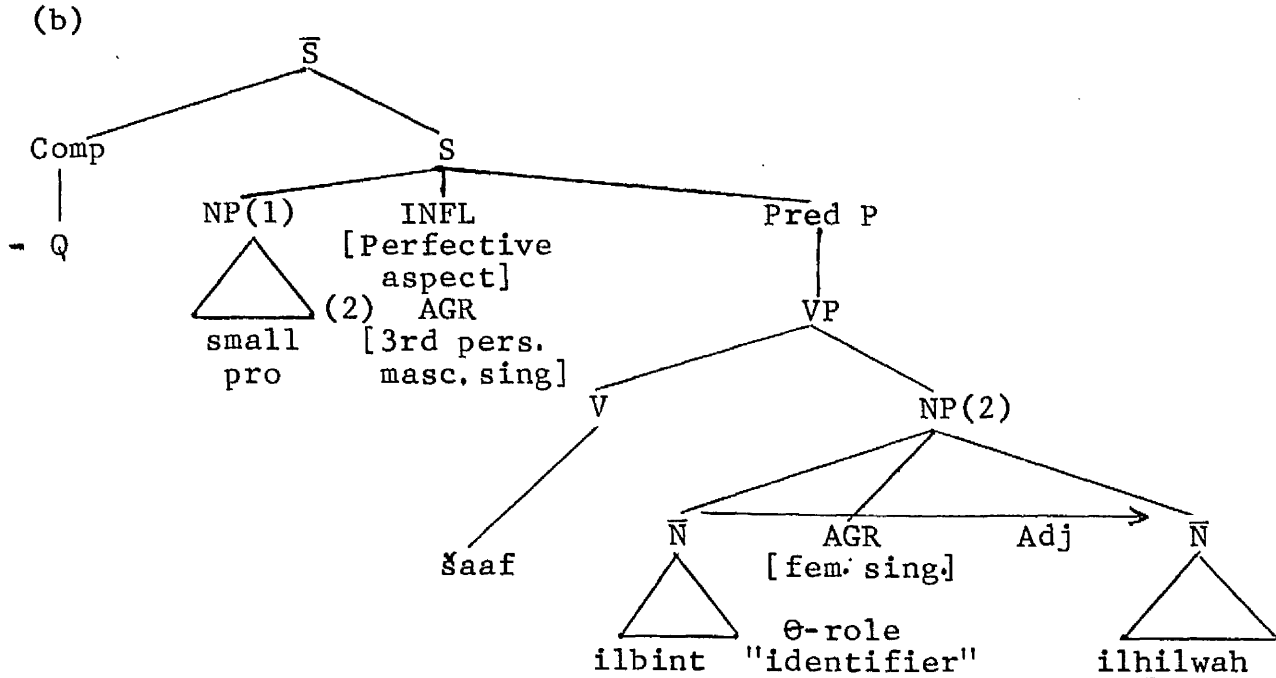
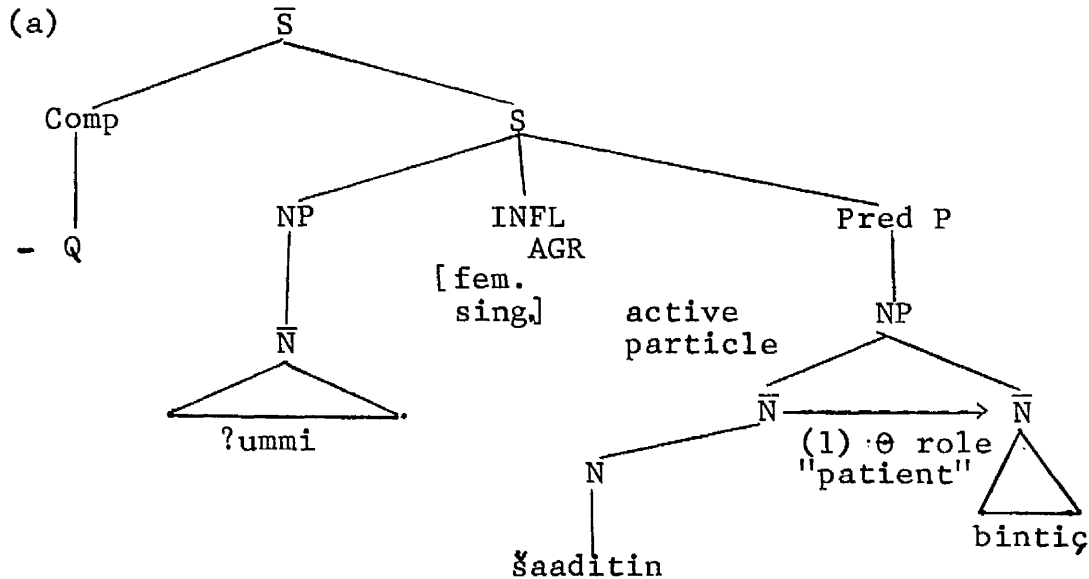
That is, according to this definition of government, X governs both of its complements, $\bar{\bar{Y}}$ and $\bar{\bar{Z}}$ even though it does not c-command $\bar{\bar{Z}}$. It also governs its specifier ie $\bar{\bar{Q}}$, which is also not c-commanded by it. (A specifier differs from a complement in the sense that the former is not subcategorized for by X). However, X does not govern any element inside $\bar{\bar{Y}}$, $\bar{\bar{Z}}$ or $\bar{\bar{Q}}$ because they are protected by maximal projections. Therefore, the verb in S-structure 2(b) governs both NP(2) and NP(3) and in turn it θ -marks both NPs.

The D.A.D. nominal also subcategorizes for its complement. This may be illustrated by the following sentences and S-structures in which we have a head nominal minimally c-commanding its complement and in turn θ -marking it.

(4)

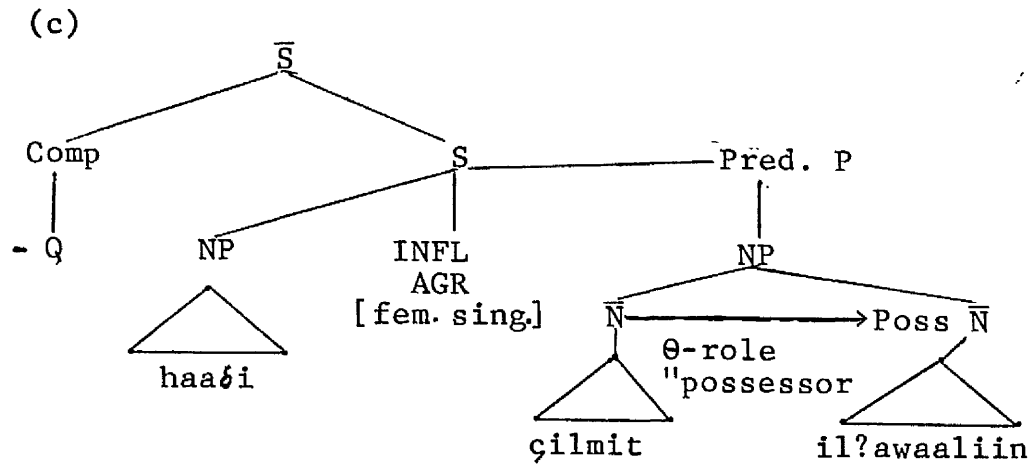
- (a) /ʔummi [ʃaaaditin bintiç]/
NP
My mother is taking care of your daughter.
- (b) /ʃaaf [ilbint ilhilwah]/
NP
He saw the pretty girl
- (c) /haaʕi [çilmit ilʔawwaliin]/
NP
This is the word of the old generation.

(5)



1) For the discussion of the nominal status of participles in D.A.D. syntax see Chapter III Part II

2) See pp 81-111 of Introduction for a discussion of small pro. in D.A.D. syntax.



In all of S-structures (5), we have a head nominal governing its complement. In (a), it is a participle and so it assigns to its complement the θ -role "patient". In (b), it is a noun and it controls the agreement features of its complement; therefore, it assigns the θ -role "identifier" to its complement. In (c), it is a noun that does not control the agreement features of its complement and that has a relation of possession with its complement. Accordingly, it assigns its complement the θ -role "possessor".

Despite the fact that the head nominals indicated in S-structures (5) assign different θ -roles to their complements, yet they all "minimally c-command" the NPs they θ -mark. That is, they govern these NPs in accordance with the definition of government as "minimal c-

command". This demonstrates that the head nominal not only subcategorizes for its complement but also governs it in the sense of "minimal c-command".

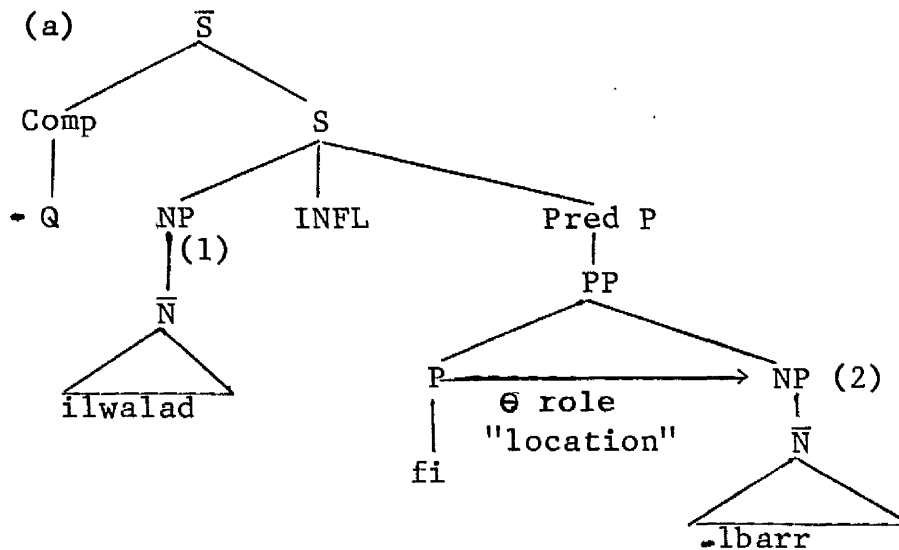
Prepositions also subcategorize for their complements. This is illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

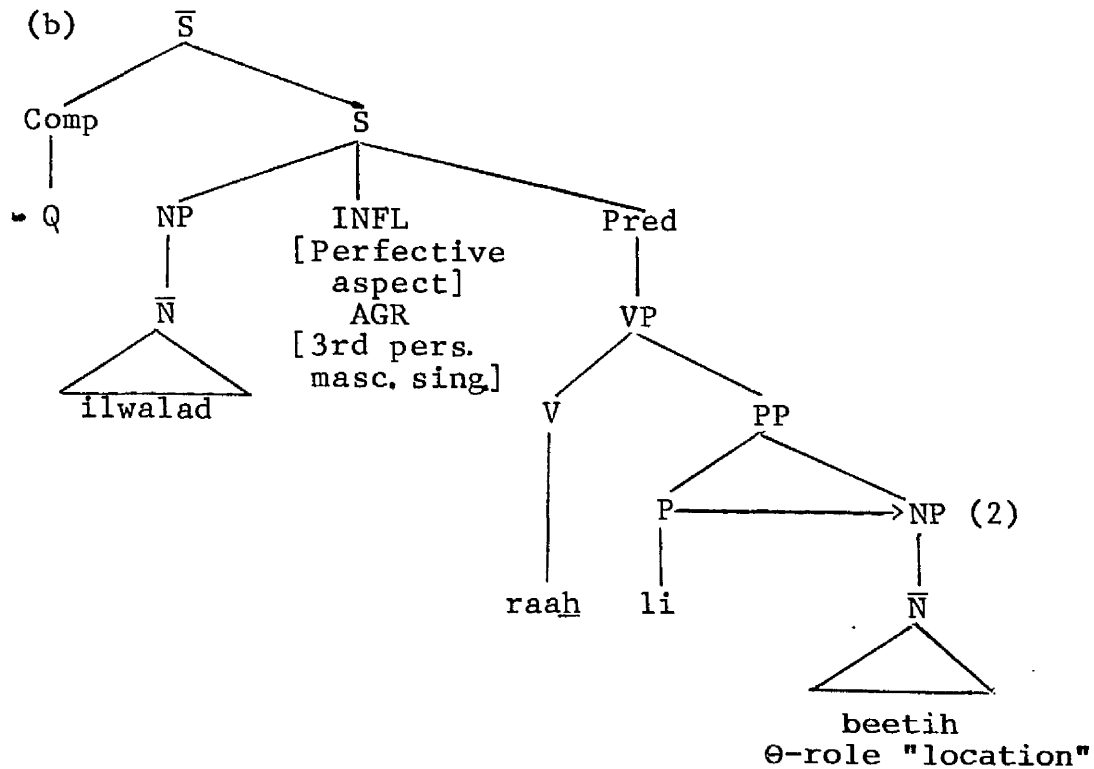
(6)

(a) /ilwalad filbarr/ The boy is in the field.

(b) /ilwalad raah libeetih/ The boy went to his house.

(7)





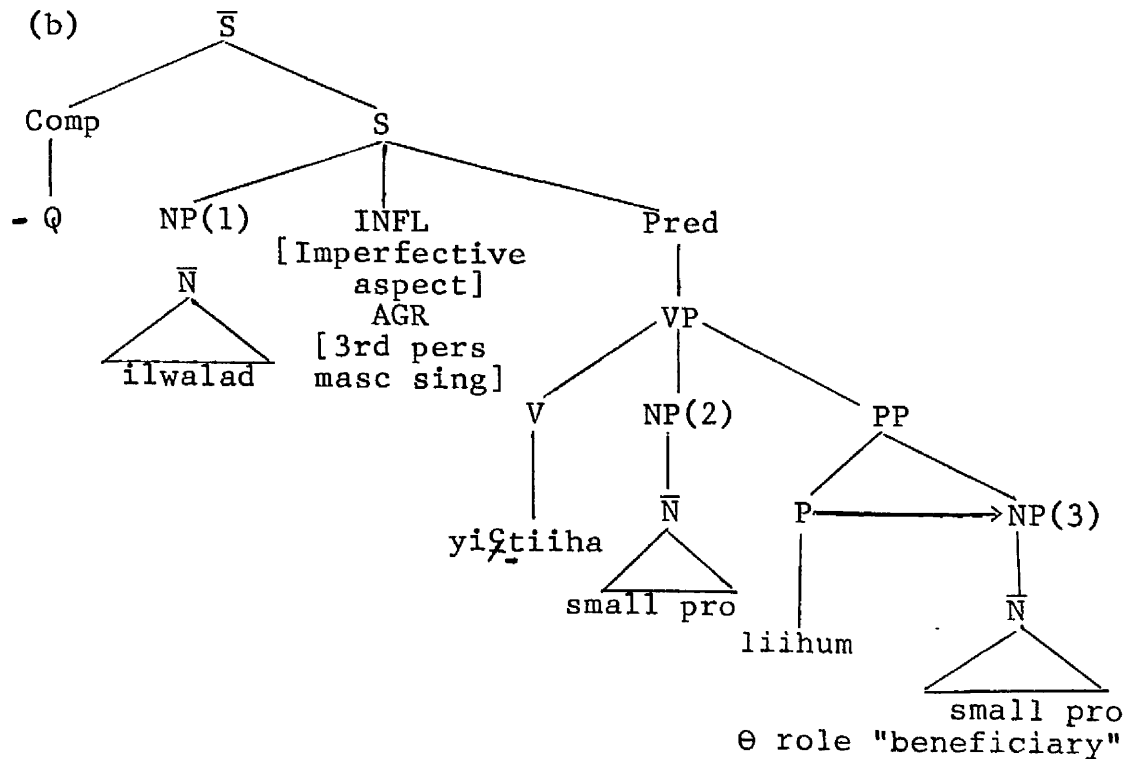
S-structures (7) illustrate that the P "minimally c-commands" NP (2), therefore, it governs and assigns to it the θ -role "location".

However, in the following sentence and its S-structure, it is shown that the complement of the preposition is assigned the θ -role "beneficiary", instead of "location".

(8)

(a) /ilwalad yiḡt̤iiha liihum/

The boy gives her to them.



The θ -role "beneficiary" is partly determined by the verb and partly by the preposition because it is the verb that requires the second complement ie NP(3) to be assigned the θ -role "beneficiary" and it is the preposition that "minimally c-commands" NP(3). However, it is the preposition that governs and θ -marks NP(3) because the operative notion of government is a structural one. Therefore, it requires the P to be the governor of NP(3) and not the verb because the maximal projection PP is a barrier to the government of NP(3) by V.

1.0.2.1.1.2: The θ -marking of Non-Subcategorized
Positions

The θ -marked positions that are not subcategorized for are the prepredicate position in S node and the Comp A-position in the D.A.D. sentential configuration. These positions are θ -marked by categories that are not 0-level; for example, the prepredicate position is θ -marked by a VP with an active verb, an NP or a PP predicate. The Comp. A-position is θ -marked by an S node that has a coreferential NP or whose INFL has the syntactic feature [+time]. The θ -marking of each of the above mentioned positions will be dealt with separately.

1.0.2.1.1.2.1: The θ -marking of NP subject by its
Predicate Phrase

That the predicate phrase may θ -mark its NP subject is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

- (a) /ilbint hilwah/ The girl is pretty.
- (b) /ilbint filbeet/ The girl is in the house.
- (c) /ilbint raahit/ The girl has gone.

The NP subject in sentence (a) is assigned the θ -role "that which is identified" by the NP predicate [hilwah];
NP

in (b) it is assigned the θ -role "that which is located" by the PP predicate [filbeet] and in sentence (c), it is assigned the θ -role "agent" by the VP with an active verb ie [raahit].¹

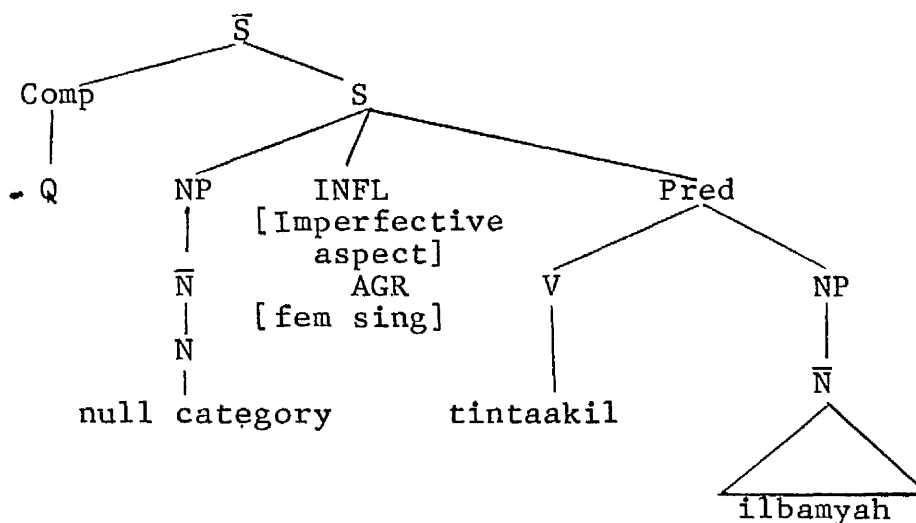
¹Passive verbs, on the other hand, do not θ -mark their subjects even though they do θ -mark their objects. And as the object of the passive verb becomes its surface subject, it can be said that the surface subject of a passive verb is assigned a θ -role by way of its trace. That is, the object of the passive verb is raised to become its surface subject and in preverbal position, the surface subject is assigned Case by INFL and a θ -role by way of its trace.

The following sentence with a passive verb and its D- and S-structures demonstrate that the surface subject of the passive verb is its complement at D-structure:

(a) /ilbamyah tintaakil/

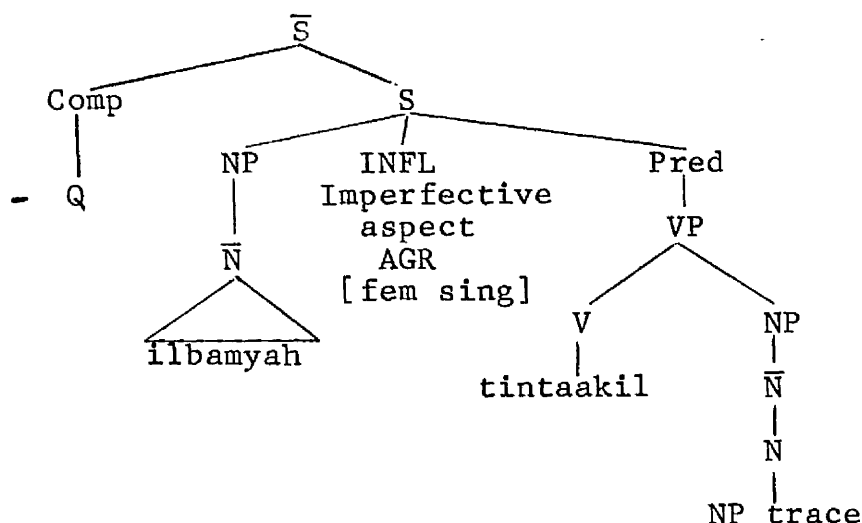
The okra is edible.

(b) D-structure



In the θ -marking of the NP subject by its VP, or its NP or PP predicate, the definition of government by *Aoun and Sportiche* may be utilized since it allows X to govern its specifier ie \bar{Q} . That is, in maintaining this definition of government, the NP subject is indirectly θ marked in accordance with the thematic proper

(c) S-structure



Despite the fact that /ilbanyah/ is in preverbal position, yet it is assigned the θ -role "patient", and not "agent". This is because it acquires the θ -role "patient" by way of its trace, which is the object of the verb. And as NP-traces transmit their θ -roles to their antecedent, /ilbanyah/ acquires the θ -role "patient". Therefore, even though the preverbal position of a VP with a passive verb is not a θ -position, the subject of a passive verb in D.A.D. still acquires a θ -role by way of its trace. But the subject of a passive verb acquires its Case by INFL, and not by way of its trace because NP-trace is not assigned Case, ie, passive verbs do not assign Case to their objects.



ties of these categories (ie NP, PP and VP) and these properties are projected to every level of syntactic representation by the projection principle.

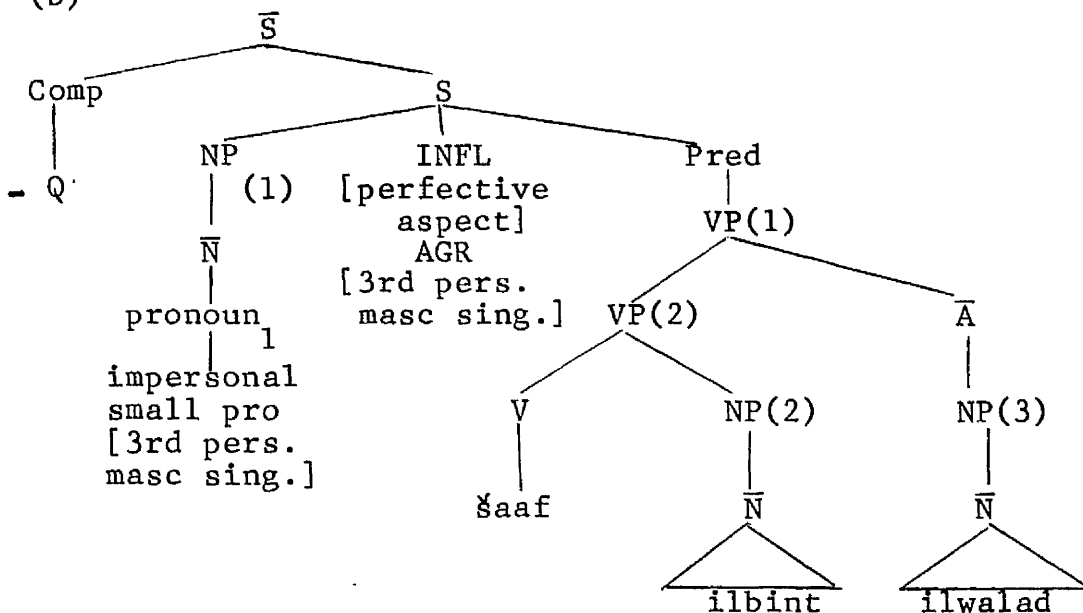
This definition of government also allows the inverted subject to be governed by its VP which has an active verb in order that it may be θ -marked. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure; in which the verb governs both NP(2) and NP(3):

(2)

(a) /šaaf ilwalad ilbint/

saw the boy the girl

(b)



¹See pp. 81-82 of Introduction for a discussion of impersonal small pro.

As structure 2(b) demonstrates, the verb governs NP(3) because it is the head in this maximal projection ie VP(1). It also governs NP(2) because it is the head of VP(2). It is in this respect that the inverted subject may be θ marked by its VP, which has an active verb. This is because this definition of government also allows the government of the inverted subject and, accordingly, it may be θ -marked at LF.

This S-structure also draws attention to the fact that NP(3) is an \bar{A} -position, following Chomsky (1981a). It is an \bar{A} -position because it is neither the subject nor the complement, ie, the subject is the preverbal position (ie NP(1)) and the complement is NP(2), which is subcategorized by the verb. However, as NP(3) forms one function chain with the preverbal position and as it is NP(3) that has the argument in this function chain, it is the θ -position in this chain. Accordingly, NP(1) has a pleonastic element ie impersonal small pro.

At the surface structure the inverted subject is moved by a rule that takes places at the phonological component. This rule places the subject adjacent to the verb form, as shown by 2(a). In other words, sentence 2(a) has the following D and S-structures:

(3)

(a) D-structure

/ilwalad šaaf ilbint/

(b) S-structure

/šaaf ilbint ilwalad/

It is only at the phonological component that /ilwalad/ is raised to the postverbal position that is adjacent to the verb form. But at S-structure and LF, it is in a position where it may be indirectly θ -marked by the verb phrase, as shown by S-structure 2(b).

1.0.2.1.1.2.2: The θ -marking of the NP predicate in the D.A.D. nominal sentence

The NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence must also be θ -marked because arguments must be assigned θ -roles, in accordance with the θ -criterion. But as the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no verb at any level of its syntactic representation, the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not a subcategorized position. It is also not governed by the NP subject because of the structural conditions imposed on government i.e. the governor has to be a X^0 category and maximal projections are absolute barriers to government. That the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not governed by

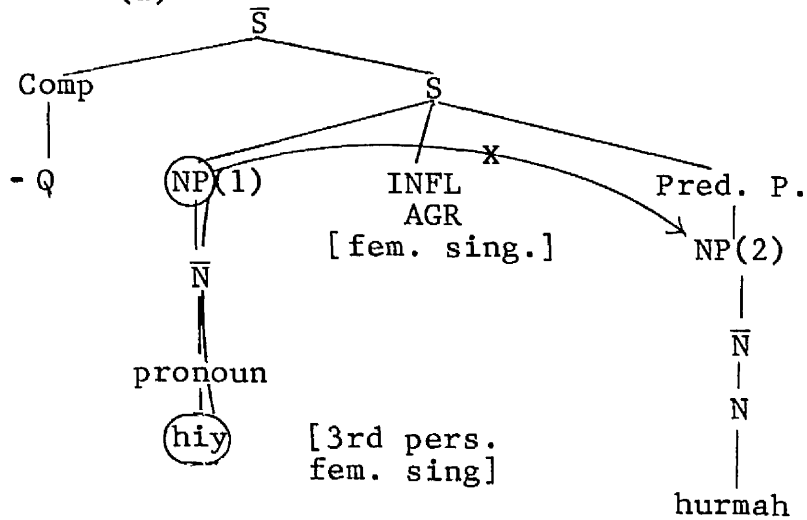
its NP subject is illustrated by the following nominal sentences and demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(b):

(1)

(a) /ilwalad rijaal/ The boy is a man.

(b) /hiy hurmah/ She is a woman.

(2)



That is, the NP subject ie /hiy/ cannot govern its predicate ie NP(2) because maximal projections are absolute barriers to government.

However, NP(2) has to be governed because it is θ marked by NP(1) and its agreement features are also controlled by NP(1).

That the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence

controls the agreement features of its NP predicate may be illustrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(a) /iddar $\dot{\text{S}}$ iyah hilwah/ Dar $\dot{\text{S}}$ iyah is pretty.

[+ fem] [+fem]

[+ sing] [+ sing]

(b) /innaas hilwiin/ People are nice.

[+ pl.] [+ pl.]

(c) /ilwalad hilw/ The boy is pretty.

[+ masc] [+ masc]

[+ sing] [+ sing]

That is, the NP predicate in (a) is feminine and singular in form because its NP subject is a feminine and singular noun. The same thing applies to (b) and (c). Despite the fact that this type of control may fall under the theory of binding, yet it is indicative of the fact that the NP subject does control its NP predicate even though it cannot be said to govern it.

As for the control exercised by NP subject over its NP predicate as regards θ -marking, this is demonstrated by the fact that the NP predicate in the above mentioned nominal sentences is assigned the θ -role "identifier" because it identifies the subject, that is, it is the NP

subject that determines the θ -role of its NP predicate. However, as the NP subject does not govern its NP predicate, it is assumed to determine the θ -role of its NP predicate by way of its INFL. In other words, the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence determines the θ -role of its NP predicate but the governor and the θ -marker of this NP predicate is INFL because it is INFL that subsumes to the structural conditions imposed on government.

This analysis allows θ -marking to be always under government and maintains that the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not a subcategorized position because it is governed by INFL, which is not a lexical item. Therefore, despite the fact that it is the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence that determines the θ -role of its NP predicate, yet it is not its governor or θ -marker because it does not subsume to the structural conditions on government.

1.0.2.1.1.2.3: The θ -marking of the NP generated in Comp

There are two types of nominals that may be generated in Comp: the temporal and the topic. These nominals may be generated in the Comp. of nominal as well as

verbal sentences. This may be demonstrated by the following sentences.

(1) : The Topic NP in Verbal and Nominal Sentences

- (a) /ilbint/¹--> fahum yišifuunha/

The girl, they do see her.

- (b) /ilbint/--> mahumb yišifuunha/

The girl, they do not see her.

- (c) /innaas/--> fahum yakluun/

The people, they do eat.

- (d) /iddarṣiyyah/--> fahiyy hilwah/

Darṣiyyiah, it surely is pretty.

- (e) /iddarṣiyyah/--> mahiyyb hilwah/

Darṣiyyiah, it is not pretty.

(2) : The Temporal NP in Nominal Sentences

- (a) /halhiin/--> iddarṣiyyah hilwah/

Now, Darṣiyyah is pretty.

- (b) /min ?awwal/--> iddarṣiyyah hilwah/

From first, Darṣiyyah is pretty.

Darṣiyyah used to be pretty.

- (c) /min baaṣir/--> iddarṣiyyah hilwah/

From tomorrow, Darṣiyyah is pretty.

Darṣiyyah will become pretty.

- (d) /min hiina/--> widdarṣiyyah hilwah/

1 This arrow indicates that there is a slight pause.

From time immemorial, and Dar~~Ş~~iyah is pretty.

Dar~~Ş~~iyah has always been pretty.

(3) : The Temporal NP in Verbal Sentences

- (a) //halhiin/ --> yihuttuun mi~~ş~~aat/

Now, they are putting mishat (in their hair).

- (b) //min ?awwal/ --> yihuttuun mi~~ş~~aat/

They used to put mishat.

- (c) //min baa~~q~~ir/ --> yihuttuun mi~~ş~~aat/

They will be putting mishat.

- (d) //ilyoom/ --> yihuttuun mi~~ş~~aat/

Today, they are putting mishat = We will put mishat.

- (e) //ilyoom/ --> hattu mi~~ş~~aat/

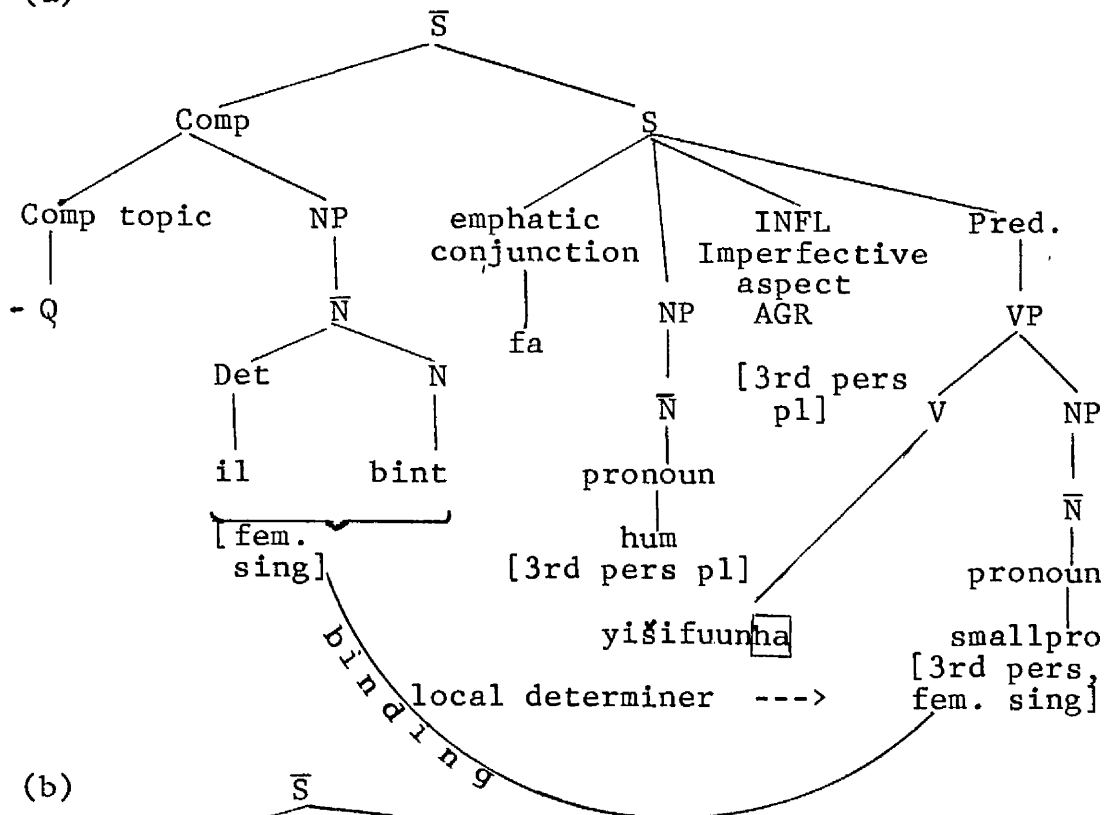
Today, they have put mishat = We have already put mishat.

When the D.A.D. sentence has an NP generated in its Comp., it is regarded as an emphatic sentence. The sentences of (1) are emphatic in the sense that the subject or the complement is emphasized by the generation of a topic NP, which has a coreferential NP be it the complement or the subject in the S node it introduces. If this S node is verbal, this coreferential NP may be either the NP subject or the NP complement, but if this S node is nominal, then the coreferential NP

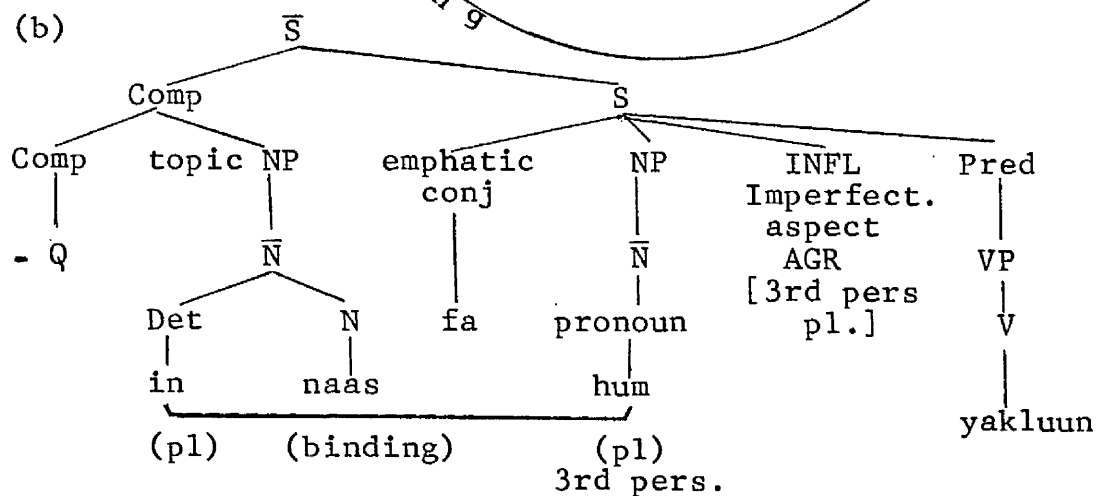
must be the subject. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (1)

(4)

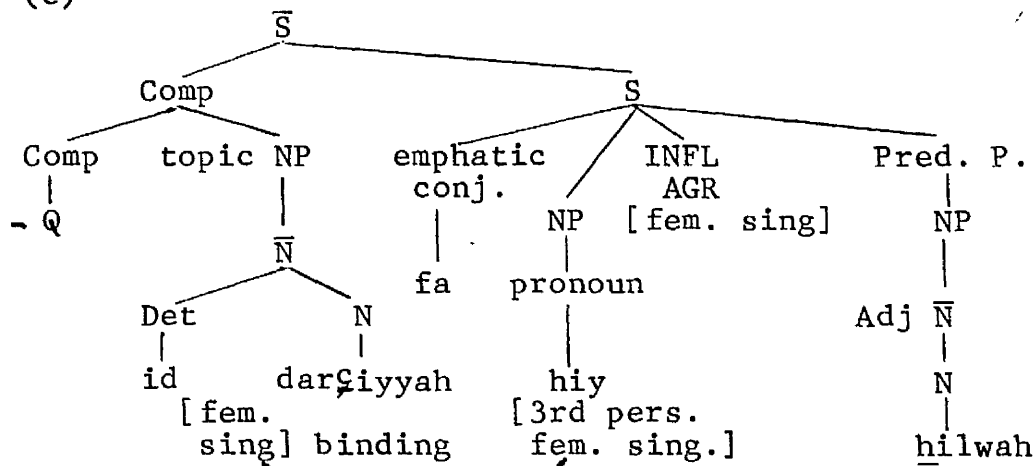
(a)



(b)



(c)



S-structures (a) and (b) illustrate that the topic NP in a verbal sentence may bind either the NP subject or the NP complement. But if the sentence is nominal, it can only bind the NP subject, as shown by S-structure (c). In either case, whether the topic NP is generated in a nominal or a verbal sentence, it makes such sentences emphatic because the NP subject or the NP complement is emphasized by the generation of a topic NP with which it is coreferential. Therefore, D.A.D. has emphatic sentences and non-emphatic sentences and an example of the emphatic sentence is the sentence that has a topic NP. In such sentences (ie emphatic sentences with a topic NP) the nominal generated as the topic NP needs to be assigned a θ -role because it is an argument.

And as θ marking is under government, S node must govern the NP it has in its Comp. in order that it may θ mark it. This is possible if we adopt the definition of government by *Aoun and Sportiche* because it allows the government of the complement as well as the specifier. Assuming that S node is the head and Comp. is its specifier, S node may govern its Comp, in which case it θ marks the NP it has in its Comp. But S node is taken to be the head and its Comp. is the specifier only if it has a coreferential NP with the NP in its Comp. And in such a case S node governs that NP it has in its Comp. and in turn at LF it is assigned the θ role "topic of discussion." This analysis is built on the analogy of the fact that a VP with an active verb θ -marks its NP subject. Similarly, an S node with a coreferential NP with the NP in Comp. θ -marks that NP in Comp, assigning to it the θ role "the topic of discussion."

Sentences (2) and (3) demonstrate that the D.A.D. sentence also allows the generation of a temporal NP in its Comp, in which case the time reference of the sentence is regarded as being emphasized. Its time reference is emphasized in the sense that its time indicator is on the sentence level, and not deduced from the pre-

vious discourse. That is, the D.A.D. sentence may be with or without a temporal NP and when it has a temporal NP, it has its time reference emphasized in the sense that it is indicated on the sentence level. This is not the case when the sentence has no temporal NP for such a sentence deduces its time reference from the previous discourse.

To see the difference between both types of sentences, we must first have a brief look at the D.A.D. sentence that has no temporal NP generated in its Comp. in relation to its previous discourse.

(5)

(a) /min ?awwal/ --> yiruhuun liddar ξ iy ξ yah/

From first, they go to Dar ξ iy ξ yah.

They used to go to Dar ξ iy ξ yah.

(b) /yil ξ abuun/ [verbal sentence]

They are playing --> They used to play.

(c) /widdar ξ iy ξ yah hilwah/ [nominal sentence]

And Dar ξ iy ξ yah is pretty --> Dar ξ iy ξ yah used to be pretty.

The above sentences demonstrate that the D.A.D. sentence with no temporal NP in its Comp. acquires its time reference from its previous discourse. For example, sentence (c) is set in a past time dimension because it is in the context of sentence (a), which has /min ?awwal/ generated as its temporal NP. Similarly, the verbal sentence in (b) is set in the past because of its previous discourse. That is, the past time reference of /min ?awwal/ generated as a temporal NP in sentence (a) is carried on to both sentences (b) and (c) because neither sentence has a temporal NP generated in its Comp. This indicates that the time reference of the temporal NP is carried on from one sentence to the other so long as these sentences do not have a temporal NP generated in their Comp.¹

The above very brief discussion of discourse analysis in relation to the indication of time in D.A.D. syntax has shown that the verbal as well as the nominal sentence can be without a temporal NP but in such a case they deduce their time reference of present, past and future perspectives from a temporal NP in the previous

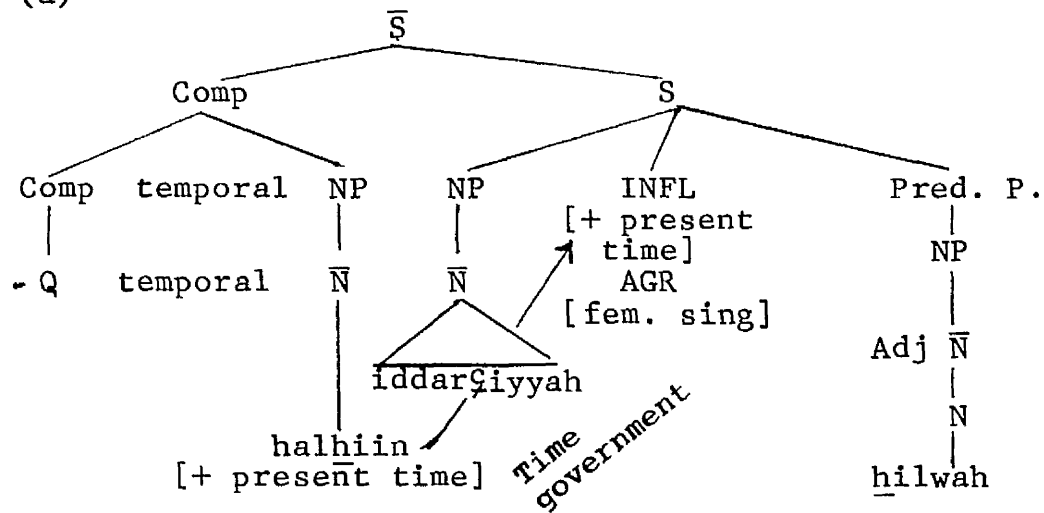
¹See Chapter III for further discussion on Time indication in D.A.D. verbal and nominal sentence.

discourse. It is in this respect that such sentences are regarded as non emphatic in their time reference ie as their time reference is controlled by a temporal NP in the previous discourse and not by a temporal NP in their own Comp. On the other hand, the sentences of (2) and (3) are emphatic because they have a temporal NP generated in their own Comp. It is this temporal NP that determines their time reference; therefore the time reference of these sentences is determined on the sentence level and they are regarded as emphatic sentences because their time reference is determined on the sentence level.

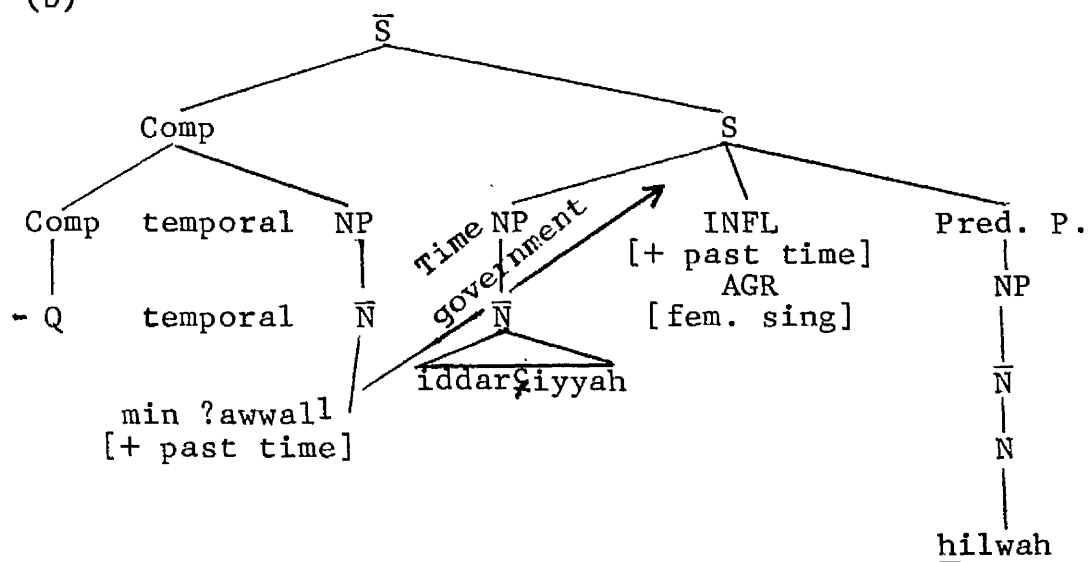
This type of emphatic sentence also has an NP generated in its Comp and so it needs to be assigned a θ -role. But it is assigned the θ role "temporal", and not "the topic of discussion". This is due to the fact that the temporal NP exercises time government on the S node it introduces. This may be demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (2)

(6)

(a)

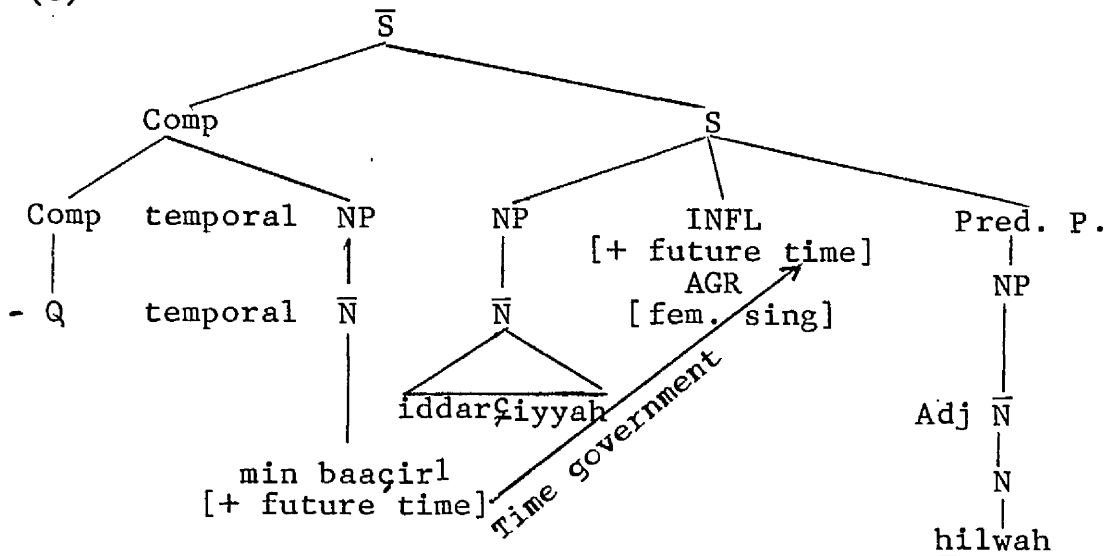


(b)

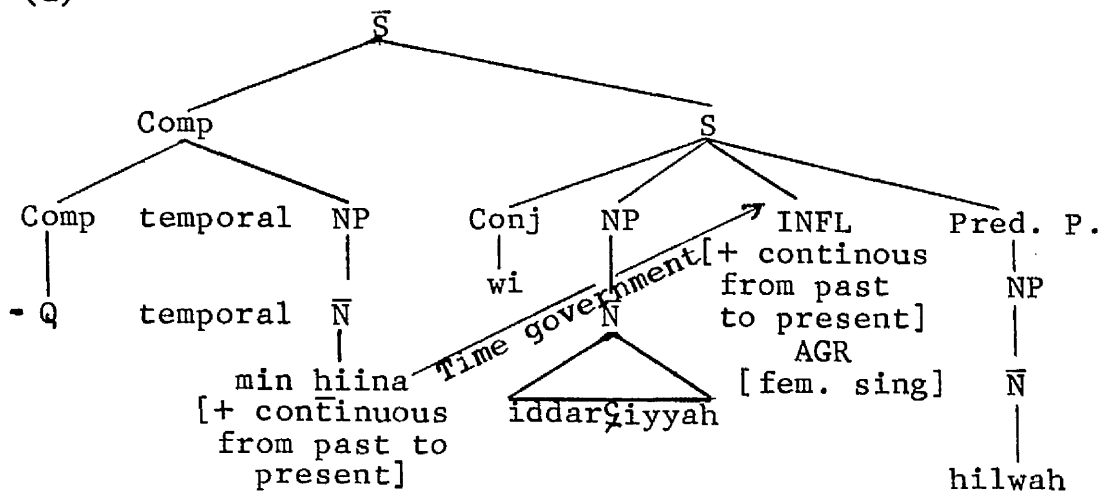


¹For a discussion why *min ?awwal* is a temporal nominal, and not a PP, see Part II, Chapter IV and Part I Chapter III.

(c)



(d)



As the above S-structures demonstrate, sentences (2) have the temporal nominals / halhiin /, / min ?awwal /, / $\text{min baa}\check{\text{ç}}\text{ir}$ / and / min hiina / generated in their Comp ;

¹For a discussion of the temporal nominals / $\text{min baa}\check{\text{ç}}\text{ir}$ / and / min hiina / see Part II Chapter IV.

therefore they are generated as the temporal NP in these sentences. The temporal NP governs the time reference of the S node it introduces; for example, the temporal NP in (a) makes the S node it introduces acquire the syntactic feature [+ present time] and this feature is registered in its INFL, which is the head of S node.

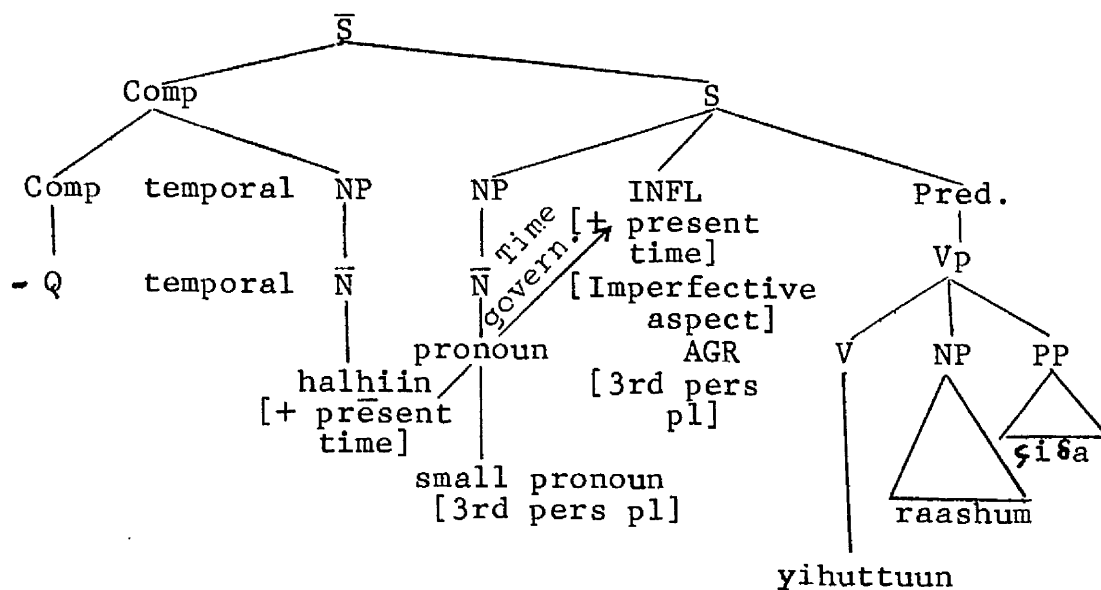
In order to assume that the temporal NP governs the time reference of the S node it introduces, we must adopt the definition of government by *Aoun* and *Sportiche*. This is because this definition of government does not require the temporal NP to c-command S node so long as the temporal NP is the head and S node is its complement. And as the temporal NP is generated in Comp and Comp is regarded at S-structure as the head of \bar{S} , then S node is the complement. Therefore, at S-structure the temporal NP governs the S node it introduces and makes that S node register that time reference in its INFL.

At LF, that NP generated in Comp needs to be assigned the θ role "temporal". This is possible if we assume that at LF S node is the head and the temporal NP is its specifier. And as the definition of government by *Aoun* and *Sportiche* also allows the head to govern its

specifier, then S node may θ -mark the temporal NP generated in its Comp. But to ensure that^{that} S node does not assign the θ -role "topic of discussion" to the temporal NP, we maintain that S node assigns the θ -role "temporal" only when it has the time reference of a temporal NP generated in its INFL. That is, an S node with a coreferential NP assigns the θ role "topic of discussion" but an S node with the time reference of a temporal NP in its INFL assigns the θ -role "temporal". Therefore, the S nodes in the S-structures of (6) assign the θ -role "temporal" to their temporal NPs at LF.

Sentences (3) also demonstrate that a temporal NP may be generated in the Comp. of D.A.D. verbal sentences. The same procedure for θ -marking is applicable in these sentences, i.e., as these S nodes have the time reference of the temporal NP registered in INFL, these S nodes θ -mark these NPs at LF, by assigning to them the θ -role "temporal". This is illustrated by the following S-structure of (3a).

(7)



That is, as S Node has the syntactic feature $[+ \text{present time}]$ in its INFL, S node governs /halhiin/, in Comp, and assigns to it the relevant θ -role.

However, S-structure (7) also illustrates that INFL of the D.A.D. verbal sentence has aspect ie (Imperfective or perfective aspects).¹ This is due to the fact that time is indicated in the D.A.D. verbal sentence partly by the temporal generated in its Comp and partly

¹See Chapter III, Part I, for a discussion of Time Indication in D.A.D. verbal sentences.

by the verb form ie whether it is perfective or imperfective. It must accordingly be pointed out that S node does not θ mark the NP in its Comp. "temporal" on the basis of aspectual distinction in its INFL. This is because the Imperfective and the Perfective aspects in D.A.D. are associated with the verb forms and not a temporal generated in Comp. Therefore, S node only θ marks the NP in Comp. "temporal" when it has a temporal in its Comp., apart from the presence of the perfective or imperfective aspect when the sentence is verbal.

That the verb form partakes in the indication of time in the D.A.D. verbal sentence is demonstrated by sentence (3) (d) + (e). This is because in both sentences we have the temporal nominal /ilyoom/, which indicates a present time reference, but the change in time reference in these sentences is the result of the change in the verb form from imperfective in (d) to perfective in (e). In (d), the present denotation of /ilyoom/ is set in a future time dimension because of the imperfective verb form but in (e), the present denotation of /ilyoom/ in collaboration with the perfective verb form conveys a very recent past denotation of time reference.

As for sentences (3)(a) - (c), they demonstrate that the temporal NP does nevertheless partake in the indication of time in the D.A.D. verbal sentence because all the verbs of these sentences are imperfective and the change in the time reference of these sentences is the result of the change in the time reference of the temporal NP due to the particular temporal nominal that is generated as its head. That is, the "Imperfective aspect" conveyed by the Imperfective verb in these sentences sets them in a progressive state that is set in the present time by /halhiin/, the future time by /min baaqir/ and the past time by /min ?awwal/. Therefore, the time reference of these sentences is the net result of the temporal NP and the verb form.

The assumption that the temporal and topic nominals are assigned θ -roles in Comp by way of their governor (ie S node) is necessary in the analysis of the D.A.D. sentential configuration because topics and some temporal nominals cannot be moved from Comp. That is, these nominals are in Comp at LF and need to be θ -marked, else there would be a violation of the θ -criterion since we would have arguments that are not θ -marked. Accordingly, the following sentences are ill-formed because the topic

nominal /ilbint/ and the temporal nominal /min hiina/ are not θ -marked:

(8)

(a) */winhin fiiha --> min hiina/

(b) */ma yišifuunha --> ilbint/

And they are not θ -marked because they have been moved out of Comp, which is "an initial position" in \bar{S} , ie, "the position preceding the surface structure subject," (A. Radford, 1981:167).

The topic nominal must remain in Comp because it binds either the NP subject or the NP complement. Furthermore, it is the fact that the NP topic cannot be moved out of Comp that demonstrates that the syntactic behaviour of the NP topic is different from that of subject. The subject may be moved from preverbal position to a postverbal position by the rule of subject inversion and it controls the verb form making it agree with it whereas the topic cannot be moved from the sentence initial position in \bar{S} because it controls an NP in S node and does not control the verb form.

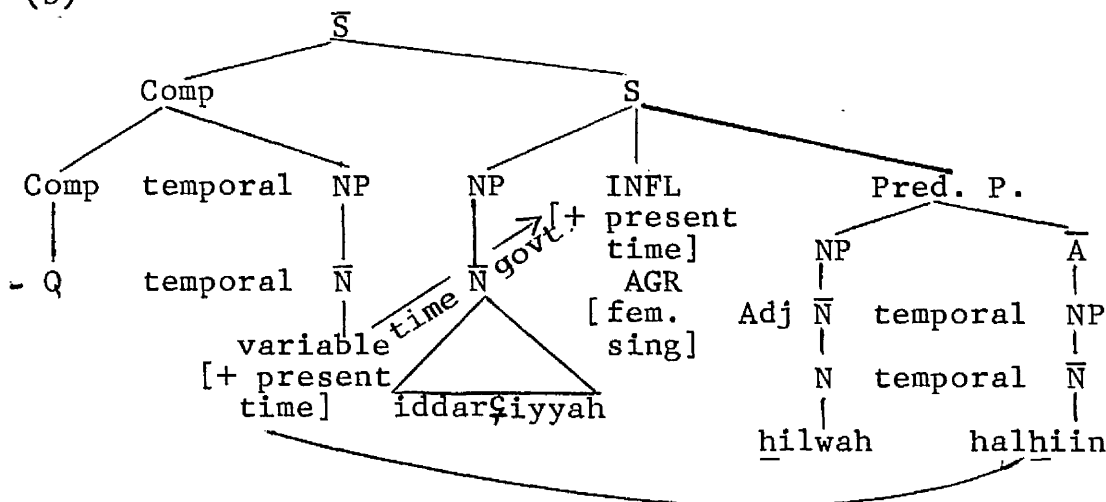
As for the temporal nominals, some temporal nomi-

nals such as /min hiina/, /min issubih/¹ etc. cannot be moved out of Comp. But some other temporal nominals such as /halhiin/ may be moved out of Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node by the optional rule called "Temporal Lowering" ie (TL), as illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(9)

(a) /iddarÇiyyah hilwah halhiin/

(b)



To account for the θ marking of /halhiin/, which is in an adjunct position at S-structure and LF, it is assumed that the θ -role is assigned to the variable and as both the variable and /halhiin/ form one function chain, there is no violation of the θ criterion. Therefore,

¹See Chapter IV of Part II for a discussion of these types of temporal nominals.

even when the temporal nominal may be moved out of Comp, it still acquires its θ -role by way of its trace. And as this trace is in Comp at S-structure, it is Case marked¹ and in turn θ -marked by S node at LF.

The above discussion has shown how either a topic or a temporal nominal generated in Comp. may be θ marked in Comp. But Comp. may also generate a topic and a temporal nominal at the same time and, of course, each must be assigned a different θ -role. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

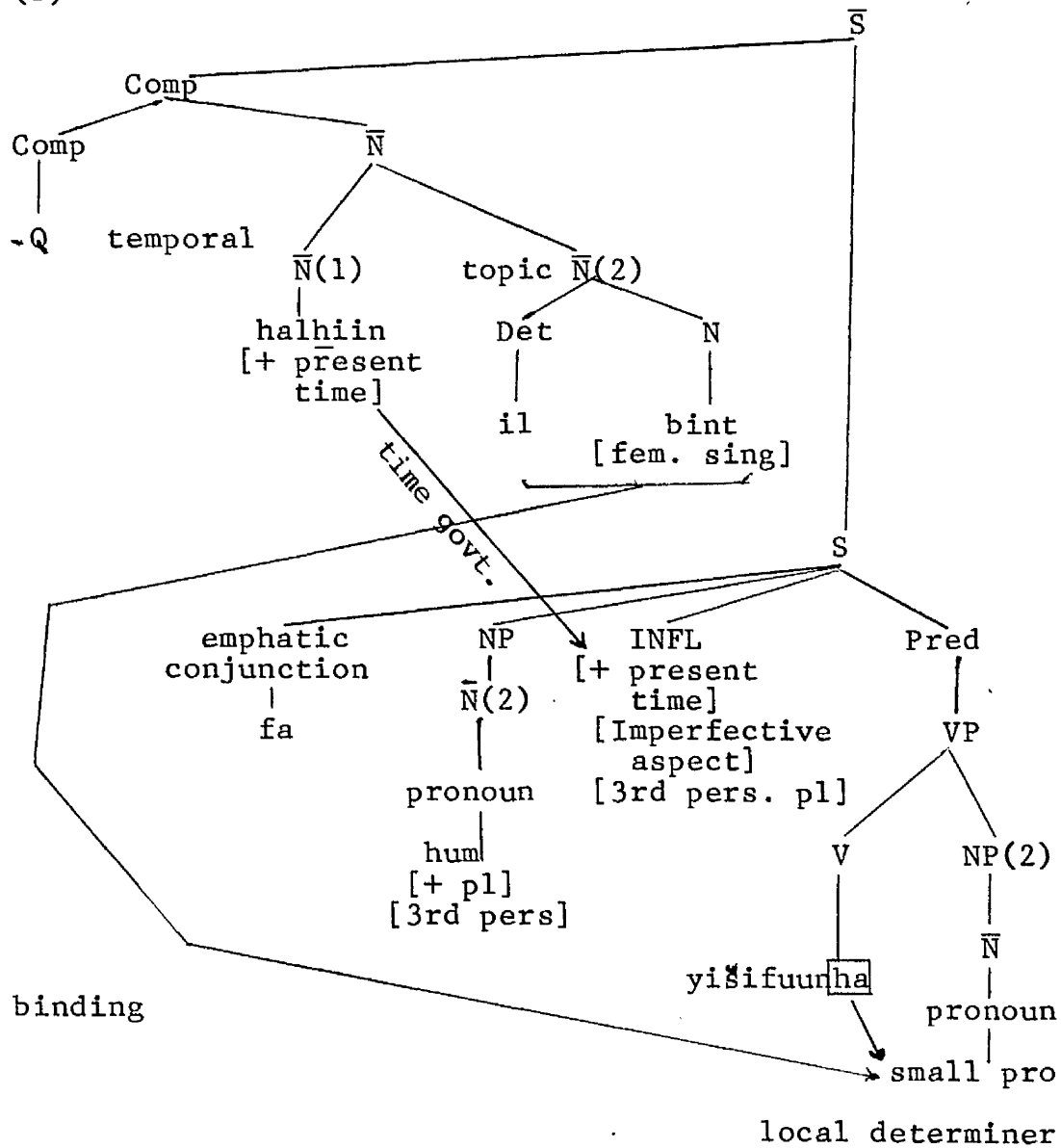
(10)

(a) /halhiin/ilbint/ --> fahum yišifuunha/

Now, the girl, they do see her.

¹See discussion of Case theory on pp.137-141 of Introduction and Chapter III of Part I, pp. 327-336.

(b)



When there are both a topic and a temporal in Comp. , the dominating node is \bar{N} so that S node can govern $N(1)$ assigning it the θ -role "temporal" and $N(2)$ assigning it

the θ -role "topic of discussion". Recall that maximal projections are absolute barriers to government and that the θ -role "topic of discussion" is assigned to the nominal that binds an NP in S node whereas the θ role "temporal" is assigned to the nominal that governs the time reference of S node.

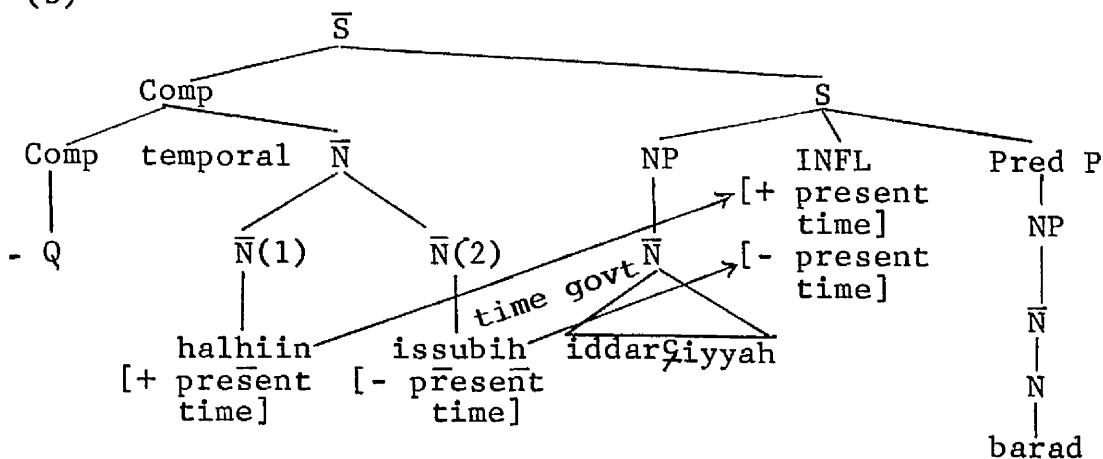
Comp. may also generate two different temporal nominals and each temporal nominal should be assigned a distinct θ role. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(11)

(a) /halhiin/issubih/--> iddar ζ iyyah barad/

Now in the morning, Dar ζ iyyah is cold.

(b)



Having the syntactic feature [+ present time], S node governs N(1) and assigns to it the θ role "temporal(1), ie, [+ present time]" and as S node also has the syntactic feature [- present time], it also governs N(2) and assigns to it the θ role "temporal(2), ie, [- present time]". The syntactic feature of [- present time] associated with /issubih/ indicates that the proposition in S node is a future state whereas the syntactic feature [+ present time] sets this future action in the domain of the present time; that is, it is a near future proposition.¹

The above discussion of the θ -marking of the NPs generated in Comp. of the D.A.D. sentential configuration has not only shown how these NPs are θ -marked in Comp. (ie by mean of their governor, which is S node) but has also pointed to the fact that there are different types of sentences in D.A.D. syntax. There are emphatic sentences and non-emphatic sentences: the former are the marked forms and the latter are the un-

¹For a more detailed discussion of the combination of the temporal nominal /issubih/ with other temporal nominals such as /halhiin/, /ʔawwāl/ etc., see pp. 548-549 of Chapter IV of Part II.

marked forms. The non-emphatic sentences have no NP generated in their Comp, whereas the emphatic sentences have an NP generated in their Comp. This NP may have a topic or a temporal. When it has a topic, then the subject or the object is emphasized by being coreferential with the topic of the discussion. But when it has a temporal, then its time reference is emphasized in the sense that it is explicitly indicated by means of a temporal in its Comp, and not deduced from the previous discourse.

It has also been shown that there are different degrees of emphasis with respect to the temporals. The highest degree of emphasis is when the temporal remains in Comp but there is a lesser degree of emphasis and this is when the temporal is moved from Comp to an adjunct position in S node. Nevertheless, both types of sentences (ie with a temporal in Comp and with a temporal moved from Comp) are emphatic in their time reference if compared with sentences that do not have a temporal. This is due to the fact that the latter type is, as indicated earlier, non emphatic in its time reference, ie, it deduces its time reference from its previous discourse.

This discussion of D.A.D. emphatic sentences and the fact that there are different degrees of emphasis brings to mind a similarity between the syntactic behaviour of the temporal NP and the NP subject. This is because both NPs show different degrees of emphasis, ie, when the temporal NP is in Comp, it conveys a greater degree of emphasis with respect to its time reference than when it is moved by the rule of (TL) to an adjunct position in S node, and similarly, when the NP subject with overt lexical material is in preverbal position, it conveys a greater degree of emphasis than when it is moved by the rule of subject inversion to a postverbal position. In both cases, the less emphatic form is the one that involves movement but this movement is always of "lowering", and not "raising." Furthermore, the mere presence of a temporal NP in the D.A.D. sentence whether in Comp. or in an adjunct position in S node indicates that the time reference of this sentence is emphasized in comparison with the D.A.D. sentence that has no temporal NP at all. That is, when the sentence has no temporal NP, there is no emphasis of its time reference but if it has a temporal NP in its Comp, this conveys the greatest degree of emphasis and when this temporal

NP is moved from Comp to an adjunct position in S node, there is a lesser degree of emphasis of its time reference. In a similar respect, the presence of an NP subject with overt lexical material whether it be in preverbal or postverbal position indicates that the NP subject is emphasized in comparison with an NP subject with an empty category ie small pro.¹ And the NP subject with overt lexical material generated in preverbal position conveys a greater degree of emphasis from one that has been moved from preverbal position to a postverbal position. Finally, both the temporal NP and the NP subject are similar in that in their non-presence in the D.A.D. sentence, their features can be semantically recovered by an NP in the previous discourse. That is, when the D.A.D. sentence has no temporal NP, its time reference is controlled by a temporal NP in its previous discourse and when it has no NP subject with overt lexical material, the features of that NP subject are controlled by an NP in the previous discourse. But as every sentence must have a subject and as AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence has heavy inflections, sentences

¹See pp. 81-111 of Introduction for a discussion of the small pro in D.A.D. syntax.

with no overt lexical material as their subject have a small pro as their subject and this small pro is locally determined by the heavy inflection found in the AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence.

1.0.2.1.2: The Extended Projection Principle

The lexicon determines some properties of well-formedness and their properties are checked at LF after they have been projected from the lexicon to every level of syntactic representation by the projection principle. Accordingly, the projection principle projects the θ -marking properties of lexical items and of categories such as NP and PP predicate phrases as well as the VP with an active verb. However, as the VP with a passive verb does not θ -mark its subject, Chomsky (1981a) has postulated the base rule $S \rightarrow NP\ INFL\ VP$.

And in (1982), he devises the Extended Projection Principle because phrase structure grammar has no standing in UG. The Extended Projection Principle maintains the following:

- (a) an EC is present whenever a θ -role is assigned but the corresponding θ -position contains no lexical material, and (b) the category S must always contain an EC as subject if no overt subject is present, as in infinitival clauses or finite clauses in pro drop languages with missing or inverted subject. (N. Chomsky, 1982:18).

An EC is an empty category that partitions the syntactic distribution of the NP category. In D.A.D., this empty category has the exponents: impersonal small pro, argument small pro, NP-trace and variable. These exponents

verify both (a) as well as (b) of the Extended Projection Principle.

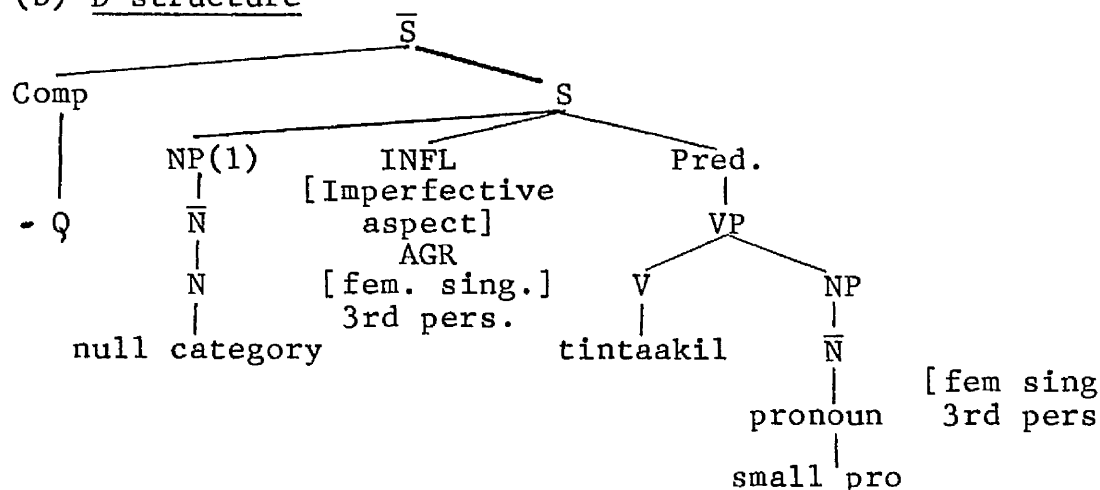
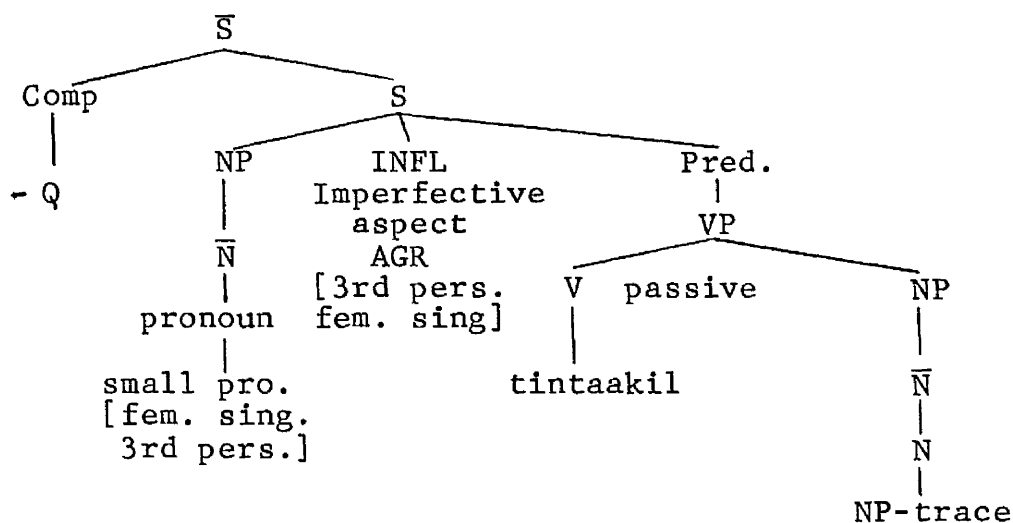
(b) may be demonstrated by the impersonal small *pro*, which is a pleonastic element, generated in preverbal position of the category *S* after the NP subject has been moved by the rule of subject inversion to a postverbal position, which is the θ -position of that function chain (ie impersonal small *pro* and inverted subject).¹

That the preverbal position of *S* must have a subject even when it is not a θ -position may also be demonstrated in D.A.D. by the presence of an EC as the subject of a passive verb when there is no overt lexical material. That is, despite the fact that the VP with a passive verb does not θ -mark its subject, it still has a subject which is an EC when there is no overt lexical material. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its D- and S-structures:

(1)

(a) /tintaakil/ It (fem. sing) is edible.

¹See pp. 49 & 50 of Introduction for examples and further discussion as regards impersonal small *pro*.

(b) D-structure(c) S-structure

As the VP has a passive verb, it does not θ -mark its subject; therefore, the preverbal position is not a θ -position. But the passive verb θ -marks its complement; therefore, we have an argument small pro as the complement of the verb at D-structure. However, if this small

pro remained in postverbal position, it would not be assigned Case because a passive verb does not assign Case. Accordingly, it is moved to preverbal position so that at S-structure, it is assigned nominative Case by INFL. At LF, the NP-trace transmits its θ -role ie "patient" to its antecedent (ie small pro), which is the argument in this A function chain. Therefore, despite the fact that the VP with a passive verb does not θ -mark its subject, yet the requirement that every S must have a subject still holds. This is indicated by the fact that there is a small pro as the subject of a passive verb that has no overt lexical material as its subject.

And the presence of a small pro as the subject of a passive verb or, for that matter, any verb that has no overt lexical material as its subject is indicated by the heavy inflection carried by the verb form, allowing AGR to locally determine its generation as subject. Looking at the passive verb in S-structure (1)(c), we find that it has the form for the features 3rd person, feminine and singular and this indicates that there is a subject small pro with the features of 3rd person, feminine and singular. This type of small pro is an argu-

ment even though the passive verb does not θ -mark its subject. Therefore, the category S must always contain an EC as subject (if no overt material is present) even when the preverbal position is not a θ -position. Such is the case with a passive verb or with the movement of the lexical subject from preverbal position to a post-verbal position.

As for the assumption in (a) (of Chomsky, 1982:18), it requires that every θ -position with no lexical material to have an empty category ie EC. This allows the generation of an abstract pronominal in positions other than that of the preverbal position in the verbal sentence of D.A.D. and this assumption may be demonstrated by the following analysis of the D.A.D. pronominal system because it proposes that there are abstract pronominals (ie an EC) in any θ -position that has no overt lexical material. This analysis is built on the fact that the D.A.D. pronominal system has a set of overt pronominal forms, which are free pronominal forms and are generated in the θ -position of the prepredicate position of both verbal and nominal sentences. And as these pronominal forms are restricted in their syntactic distribution, it is maintained that there is also a set

of abstract pronominals which are arguments and which are generated as the subject of verbal sentences and as the complement of verbs, nouns and prepositions. It is, accordingly, maintained that in D.A.D. syntax there is an EC whenever a θ -role is assigned and the corresponding θ -position contains no overt lexical material and this is demonstrated by the following discussion of subject small pro, complement small pro and possessive small pro.

However, the generation of these abstract pronominals, which are called small pro, requires local determination and so their presence is determined on the basis of a set of pronominal affixes that are carried by verbs, nouns and prepositions. As a matter of fact, it is the presence of this set (ie the pronominal affixes) that has enabled the analyst to establish that D.A.D. has a set of abstract pronominals, which are free pronominals and which are arguments. These pronominal affixes do not only indicate the person, number, and gender of the EC it locally determines but also its Case. Furthermore, these affixes determine whether the verb form is perfective or imperfective. This is because different affixes are associated with the different verb forms ie

Perfective or Imperfective. Therefore, the following discussion demonstrates how these affixes locally determine the generation of the empty category small pro, which is an argument pronominal that may be generated as the subject of a verbal sentence; the complement of a verb; a preposition; or a nominal. And when it is the complement of a nominal, it is a possessive pronominal.

1.0.2.1.2.1: Subject Small Pro

Subject small pro is locally determined by pronominal affixes that are carried by the D.A.D. verb. These pronominal affixes indicate not only the person but also the number and gender of that small pro. Furthermore, the set of pronominal affixes associated with the perfective verb is different from that associated with the Imperfective verb. This is demonstrated by the following verbal sentences:

(1) With Imperfective verb forms

(a) /small pro /?ahutt/miša^haat/

I put mishat (ie hair decoration)

(b) /small pro /yihutt/miša^haat/

He puts mishat

(c) /small pro /tihutt/miša^haat/

She puts mishat

(d) /small pro /nihutt/miša^haat/

We put mishat

(e) /small pro /yihuttuun/miša^haat/

They put mishat

(2) With Perfective verb forms

(a) /small pro /hatteet/miša^haat/

I have already put mishat

(b) /small pro /hatt/mišaāt/

He has already put mishat

(c) /small pro /hattit/mišaāt/

She has already put mishat

(d) /small pro /hatteena/mišaāt/

We have already put mishat

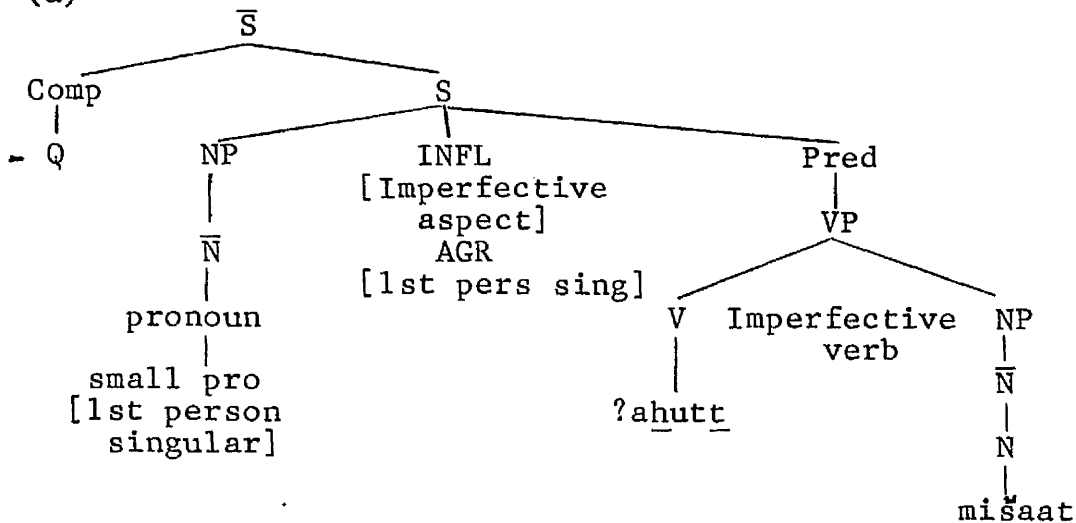
(e) /small pro /hattu/mišaāt/

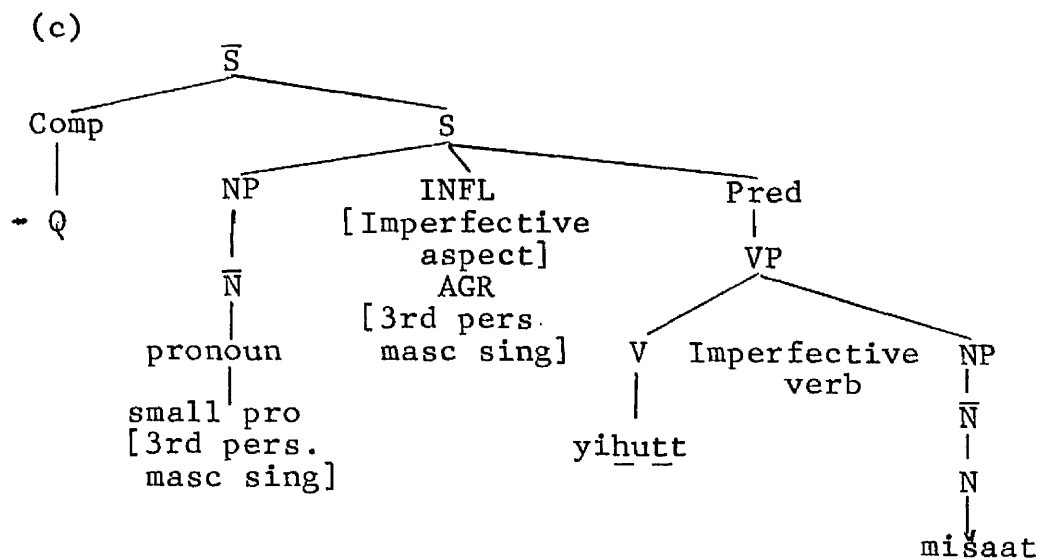
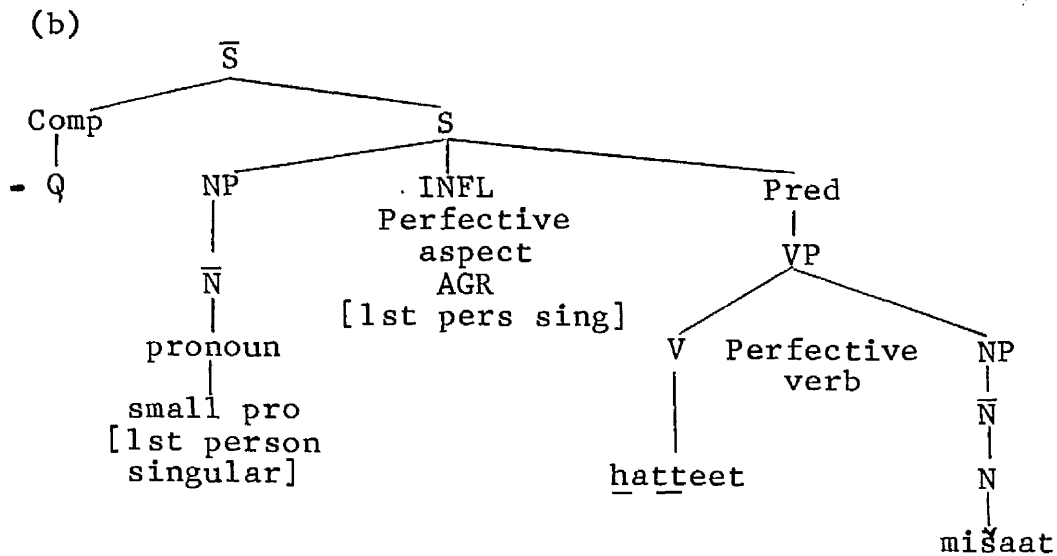
They have already put mishat

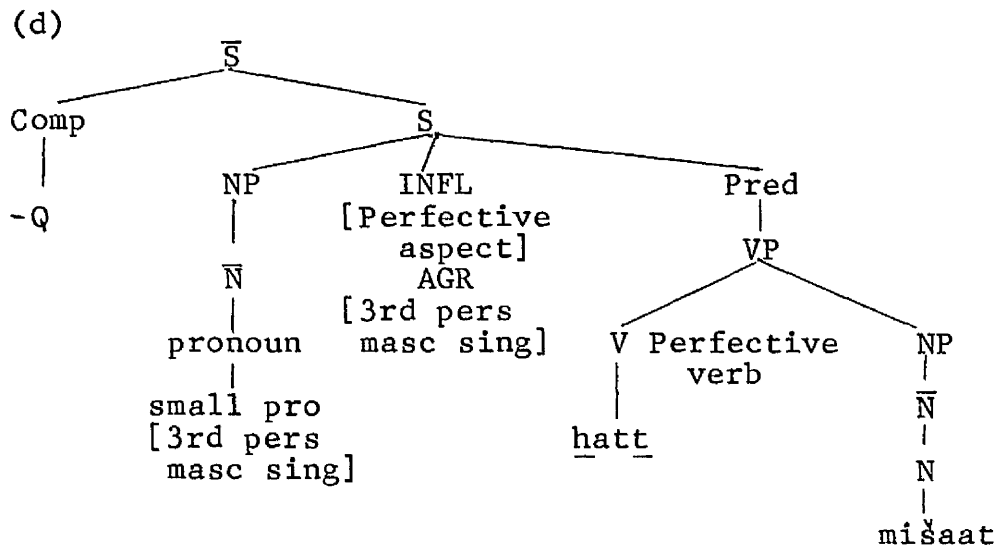
Taking sentences (1)(a) and (b) as well as (2)(a) + (b) as examples, we have the following S-structures:

(3)

(a)







S-structures (3) (a) and (b) demonstrate that despite the fact that both subject small pros have the features 1st person and singular, yet they are locally determined by different pronominal affixes as indicated by the forms of the verb. In a similar respect, both subject small pro in S-structures (c) + (d) have the features 3rd person, masculine and singular, and yet they are locally determined by different pronominal affixes. This is indicated by the difference in the verb forms. Therefore, the pronominal affixes associated with the Perfective verbs are different from those associated with the Imperfective verbs despite the fact that both sets of pronominal affixes are the local determiners for a subject small pro.

The above S-structures have also shown that the features of the subject small pro are indicated by the pronominal affix carried by the verb form and that these features include inflection for number, gender if singular¹ and person. That is, these pronominal affixes represent heavy inflection, which is inflection for number, gender if singular and person. And as AGR is the abstraction of the agreement features in the sentence and has in the D.A.D. verbal sentence heavy inflection, whenever the preverbal position has no lexical material it locally determines the generation of a subject small pro. That is, it is AGR that locally determines the presence of subject small pro because it is the governor of the preverbal position, and not the verb itself.

The view that AGR is the governor of the preverbal position is not only based on the notion that AGR is an abstraction of the agreement features in the sentence but also on the assumption held here that AGR is controlled by an NP in the previous discourse; the fact which allows the NP subject to control its predicate

¹The pronominal for first person and singular in D.A.D. syntax has common gender; therefore, this is an exception.

phrase, and not vice versa. That is, if the NP subject does not have lexical material, AGR governs and locally determines the generation of a subject small pro in that NP because AGR is controlled by another NP in the previous discourse and the features of that NP are registered in it. Accordingly, it functions as the local determiner for the generation of a subject small pro and then these features are overtly manifested in the verb form in agreement with its NP subject; and if the NP subject has lexical material, then we have language redundancy because the features of the NP subject are not only indicated in AGR but also by the lexical material in the NP subject itself. As for the predicate phrase, it must also agree with its subject, which has lexical material. In turn, the verb form also overtly manifests the features of its subject in agreement with it (ie the NP subject). Therefore, despite the fact that the pronominal affixes that function as the local determiners for the generation of a subject small pro are carried by the verb form, yet it is AGR that is the governor and in turn the local determiner for the generation of a subject small pro in the D.A.D. verbal sen-

tence whenever the preverbal position is a θ -position that has no lexical material.

The above discussion of subject small pro has shown that the NP subject of the D.A.D. verbal sentence may have lexical material or an abstract pronominal. That this is one of the characteristics of the verbal sentences in distinction with the nominal sentences is indicated by the fact that the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence has to have lexical material, and not a small pro. The requirement that the NP subject of nominal sentences must have lexical material and not a small pro is illustrated by the following nominal sentences:

(4)

(a) /hiy/ mir $\dot{\text{f}}$ iitin rijaalha/

She is pleasant to her husband.

(b) /*small pro/ mir $\dot{\text{f}}$ iitin rijaalha/

(c) / hum/ hilwiin marrah/

They are very pretty.

(d) /*small pro/ hilwiin marrah/

Sentences (a) + (c) are well-formed whereas (b) + (d) are ill-formed because the NP subject is a small pro and D.A.D. nominal sentences must have an NP subject with lexical material. This is due to the fact that AGR

of the D.A.D. nominal sentence does not have heavy inflection, which is inflection for number, gender if singular and person. That is, as AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence has only inflection for number and gender if singular but not for person, it cannot function as the local determiner for the generation of a subject small pro, and consequently, the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence must be with lexical material.

As for its predicate phrase, if it has a nominal as its head, then that nominal overtly manifests inflection for number and gender if singular. For example, in sentence (a) /mirŋiitin/ is the singular and feminine form and in (c) /hilwiin/ is the plural form. This indicates that the AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no inflection for person and so it does not have heavy inflection. It follows that its AGR cannot locally determine the generation of a subject small pro.

However, the D.A.D. nominal sentence may have a subject small pro if it has a local determiner in its Comp. This is possible when its Comp. has the complementizer /?inn + pronominal suffix/ or the temporal

nominal /taww + pronominal suffix/, as illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

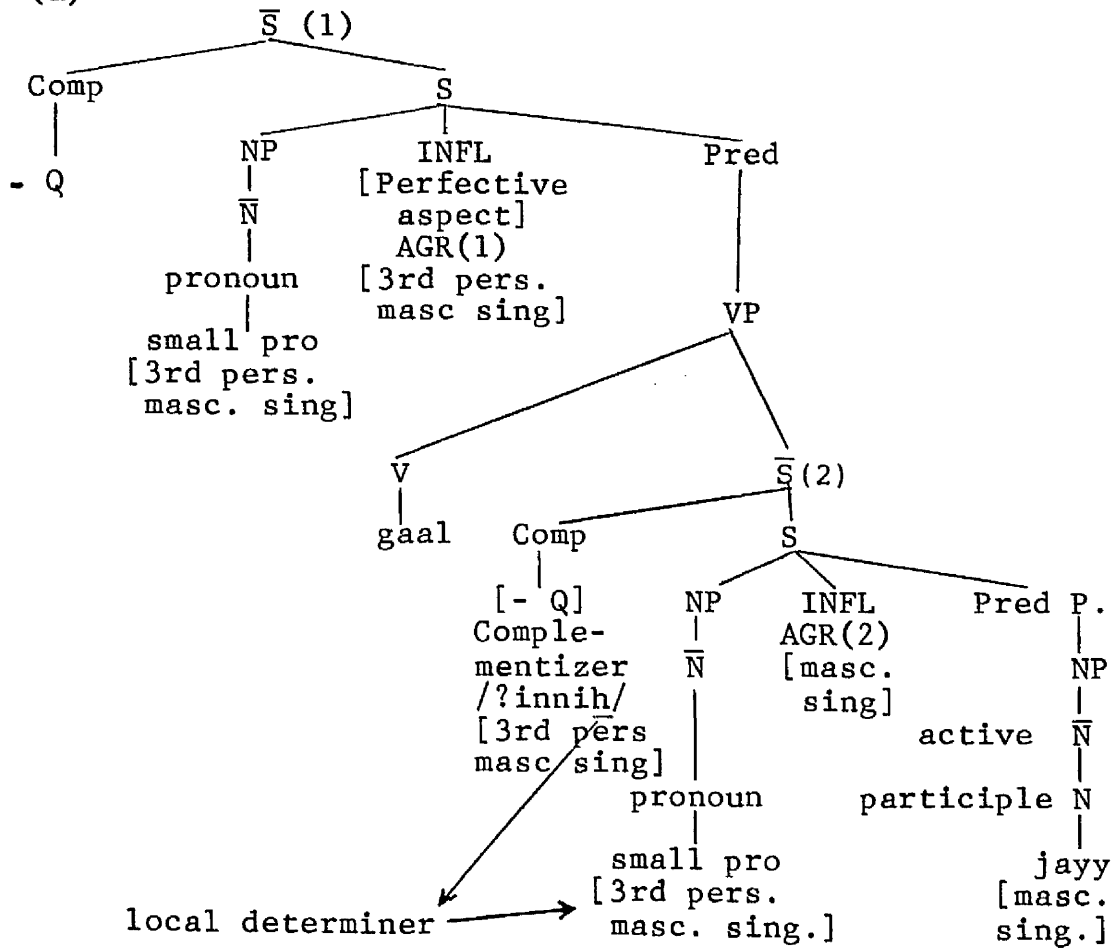
(5)

(a) /gaal ?innih jayy/ He said that he coming

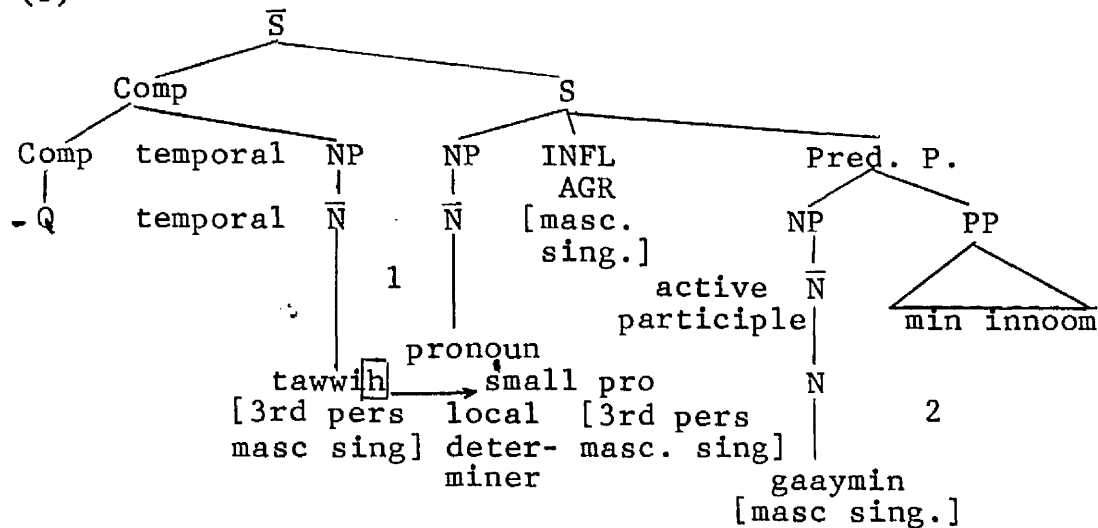
(b) /tawwih - gaaymin min innoom/
Recently, he getting up from sleep

(6)

(a)



(b)



S-structures 6(a) + (b) demonstrate that AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence shows only inflection for number and gender if singular. This is indicated by AGR of S-structure (b) and the embedded clause of (a) ie in AGR (2). As a result, the head of the predicate phrase in these S-structures inflects for number and gender but not for person. However, these nominal clauses nevertheless, have a subject small pro but this is due to the fact that they have a local determiner in Comp. That is, the pronominal suffix carried by the complementizer

¹For a discussion of the temporal nominal /taww + pronominal suffix/ see pp. 615-625 of Chapter IV of Part II.

²For a discussion of the D.A.D. participles see Chapter III, Part II.

/ʔinnih/ and the temporal nominal /tawwih/ is the heavy inflection that functions as the local determiner for a subject pro. It is also to be noted that both /ʔinnih/ and /tawwih/ in the above S-structures govern the NP subject because they are generated in Comp and Comp is the head of \bar{S} ; therefore, it governs all the elements in S node that are not protected by a maximal projection. That is, both the complementizer /ʔinnih/ and the temporal nominal /tawwih/ govern and locally determine the generation of a subject small pro in these nominal sentences. This in turn demonstrates that subject small pro is basically generated as the NP subject of verbal sentences. As for the nominal sentences, it is only if these nominal sentences have a governor and local determiner in their Comp. that makes the generation of a subject small pro possible.

1.0.2.1.2.2: Complement small pro:

The complement small pro, in a similar respect, is generated if it is governed by a verb or a preposition that has pronominal suffixes for its local determination. Those pronominal suffixes are called the "Verbal Set" of pronominal suffixes because they are only associated with [-N] categories, ie, verbs and prepositions.

That is, a verb or a preposition that has a pronominal suffix of the verbal set locally determines the generation of a complement small pro. And in either case, the complement small pro is governed by the category that has its local determiner, whether it be a V or a P.

1.0.2.1.2.2.1: Complement Small Pro Governed by V.:

(1): With Imperfective Verb Forms

- (a) /yišufni/ He sees me.
- (b) /yišuufih/ He sees him.
- (c) /yišufha/ He sees her.
- (d) /yišufhum/ He sees them.

(2): With Perfective Verb Forms

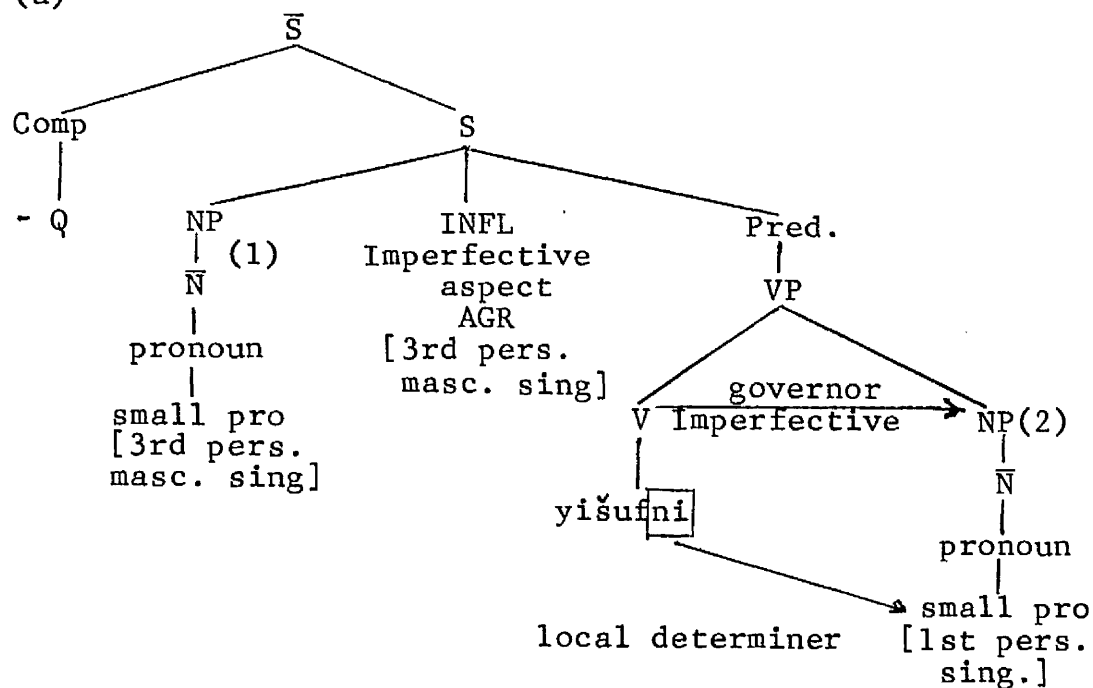
- (a) /šafni/¹ He saw me.
- (b) /šaafih/ He saw him.
- (c) /šafha/ He saw her.
- (d) /šafna/ He saw us.
- (e) /šafhum/ He saw them.

Taking examples (1) and (2)(a) as sentences in which the NP subject as well as the NP complement is a small pro, we have the following S-structures:

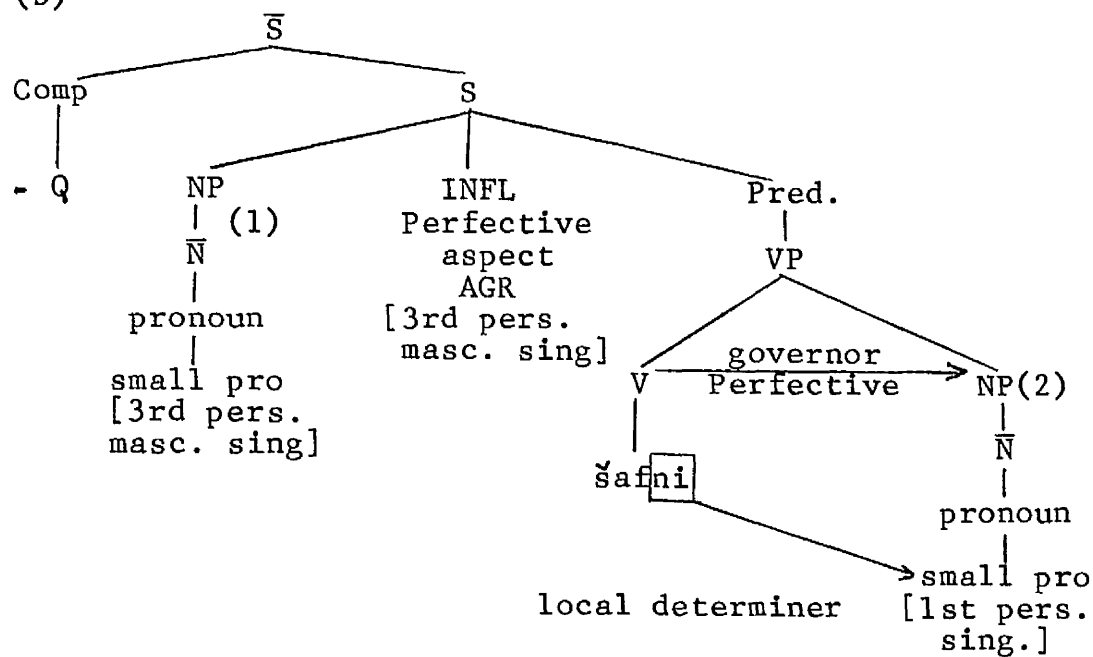
¹D.A.D. has a phonological rule: $\bar{V} \rightarrow \overset{u}{V}CC$. That is why the /a/ in (a) is short but it is long in (b).

(3)

(a)



(b)



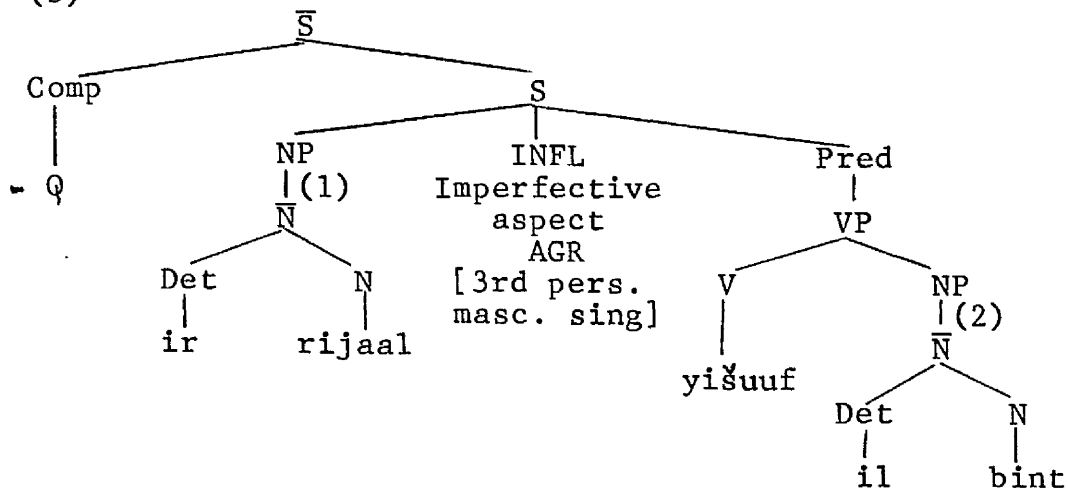
S-structures (3) (a) + (b) illustrate that in NP(1) there is a subject small pro and that in NP(2) there is a complement small pro. The complement small pro is locally determined by the pronominal suffix /-ni/, which is carried by the verb form. Both small pros are generated in θ positions that have no overt lexical material.

That small pro is in complementary distribution with overt lexical material is illustrated by the following sentence, in which both the NP subject and the NP complement have overt lexical material and therefore have no small pro.

(4)

(a) /irrijaal yišuuuf ilbint/ The man sees the girl.

(b)



As NP(1) and NP(2) do have overt lexical material, there is no small pro in these θ -positions, and in turn, as shown by S-structure 4(b), the verb form does not have a pronominal suffix. This is due to the fact that NP(2) has overt lexical material and so it does not require a local determiner since local determination is for the generation of a small pro. Therefore, when the complement of the verb has overt lexical material, the verb does not carry any pronominal suffix of the verbal set of pronominal suffixes because these pronominal suffixes are the local determiners for the generation of a complement small pro.

Sentences (1) and (2) also demonstrate that the pronominal suffixes that function as the local determiners for a complement small pro are the very same set that is carried by both the Perfective and the Imperfective verb forms. In this respect, they differ from the pronominal affixes that locally determine the generation of a subject small pro because the latter affixes are divided into two different groups: one group is associated with Perfective verbs and the other group is

associated with the Imperfective verbs.¹ Furthermore, the same set of pronominal suffixes that is carried by verbs for the local determination of a complement small pro is also associated with the D.A.D. prepositions again for the local determination of a complement small pro.

1.0.2.1.2.2.2: Complement Small Pro Governed by P:

That these pronominal suffixes are also associated with the D.A.D. preposition is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1): Nominal Sentences

(a) /huw fiini/ It (masc. sing.) is in me.

"The unborn baby is in me".

(b) /huw fiha/ It (masc. sing.) is in her.

(c) /huw fihi/ He is in him.

(d) /huw fiina/ He is in us.

(e) /huw fiihum/ He is in them.

(2): Verbal Sentences

(a) /daxalit fiini/ She bumped into me.

(b) /daxalit fiha/ She bumped into her.

(c) /daxalit fihi/ She bumped into him.

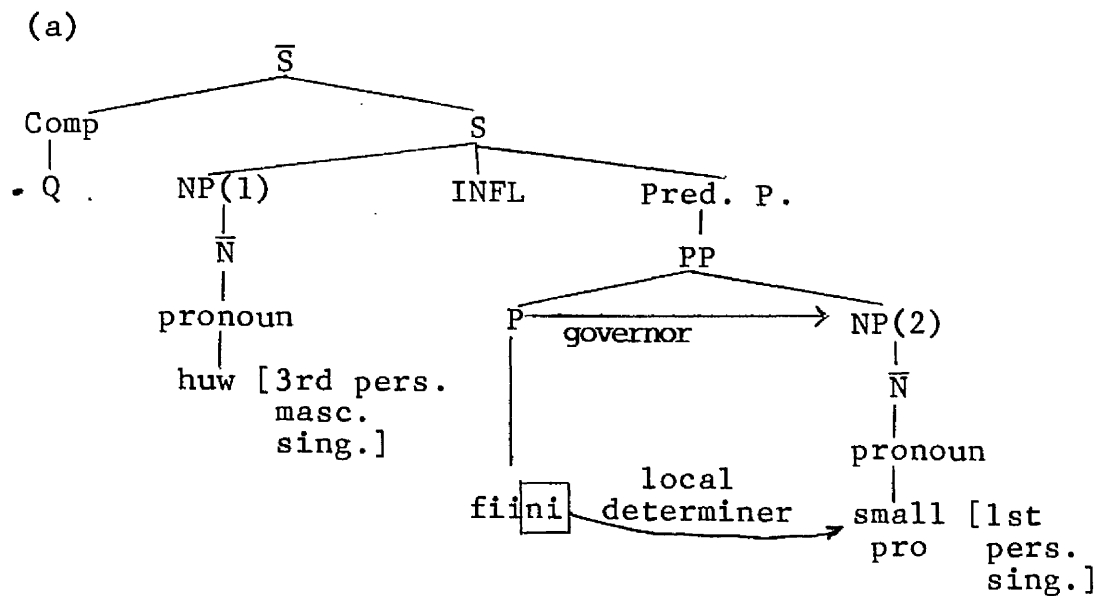
¹See pp. 382-5 of Chapter I of Part II for the list of the D.A.D. pronominal forms.

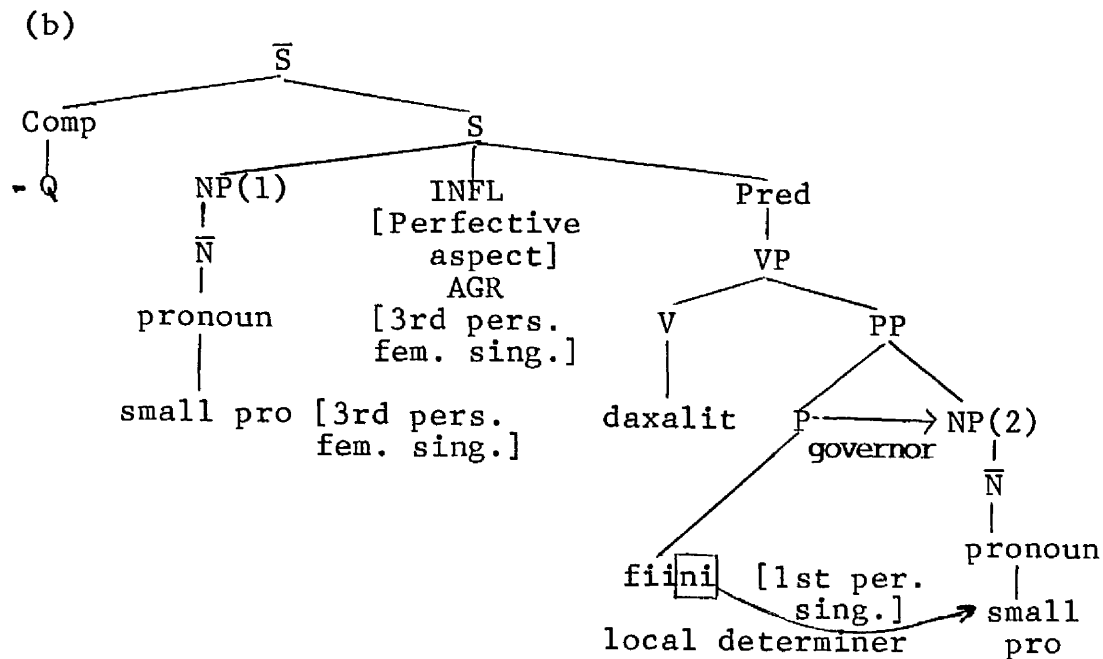
(d) /daxalit fiina/ She bumped into us.

(e) /daxalit fiium/ She bumped into them.

As with the verb, these pronominal suffixes locally determine a complement small pro. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (1) + (2)(a).

(3)

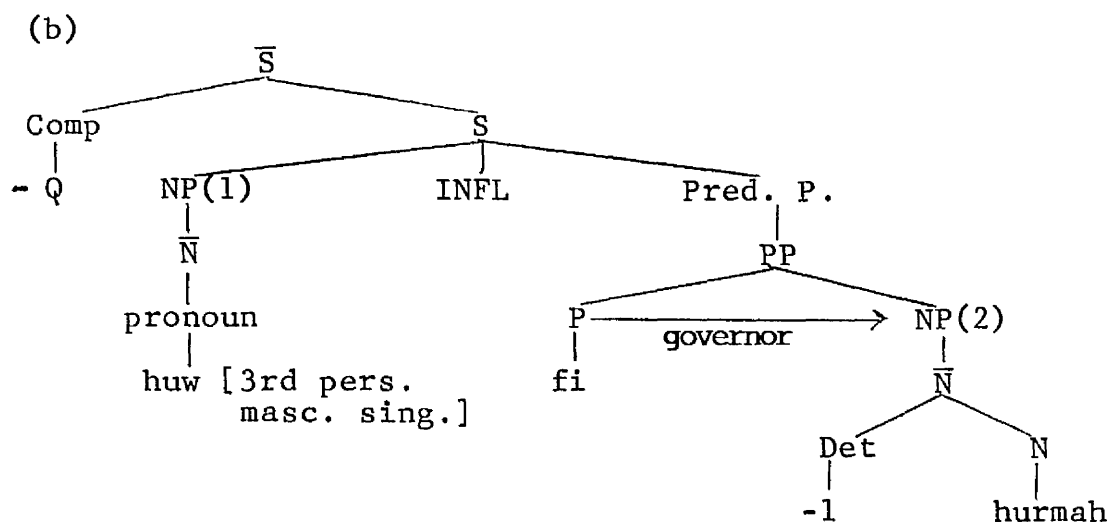




That the complement small pro in NP(2) is also in complementary distribution with overt lexical material is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(4)

(a) /huw filhurmah/ He is in the woman ie the unborn
baby is in the woman.



As can be seen from S-structure 4(b), NP(2) has overt lexical material ie the nominal /ilhurmah/, accordingly, it does not have a complement small pro. And as NP(2) does not have a complement small pro, the preposition which governs it does not have pronominal suffixes. That is, these pronominal suffixes are carried by D.A.D. prepositions for the local determination of a complement small pro.

This discussion of complement small pro verifies the fact that the set of free pronominal forms¹ in D.A.D. is restricted in syntactic distribution to the prepredi-

¹For the list of the D.A.D. free pronominal forms see Chapter IV, Part I, pp. 314-316.

cate position and that it is only small pro that may be generated as the complement pronominal.

1.0.2.1.2.3: Possessive Small Pro

In the above discussion, it has been shown that every θ -position has lexical material and that when it does not, an empty category called small pro is generated in it. It has also shown that small pro requires a local determiner for its presence; therefore it requires a pronominal affix for its generation. We have also seen that the D.A.D. verb may have a subject small pro because it always has pronominal affixes for the generation of a subject small pro. And when the verb also has a pronominal suffix of the "verbal set" of pronominal suffixes, it locally determines the presence of a complement small pro. Furthermore, as even prepositions are associated with this set of pronominal suffixes called the "verbal set", they too locally determine the presence of a complement small pro.

In this section, a study is made of the D.A.D. nominals and it is shown that they are associated with a different set of pronominal suffixes from that with which verbs and prepositions are associated. As a result, the pronominal suffixes associated with the nomi-

nals have been called "The Nominal Set", as distinct from the "Verbal Set", which is associated with verbs and prepositions.

The pronominal suffixes of the "Nominal Set" differ from those of the "Verbal Set" as regards the form of the first person and singular pronominal (i.e., the nominal set has the /-i/ suffix whereas the verbal set has the /-ni/ suffix). The pronominal suffixes of the "Nominal Set" also differ in that they function as the local determiners for the generation of a possessive small pro, and not a complement small pro. This is illustrated by the following sentences and S-structures:

(1)

(i) /haaʃa walad^{ha}/

This (masc. sing.) is her son.

(ii) /haaʃi bint bintⁱ/

This (fem. sing.) is the daughter of my daughter.

(iii) /ilbint bint^h/

The girl is his daughter.

(iv) /ilbint bintⁱ/

The girl is my daughter.

(v) /ilbint bint^{ina}/

The girl is our daughter.

(vi) /ilbint bintikum/

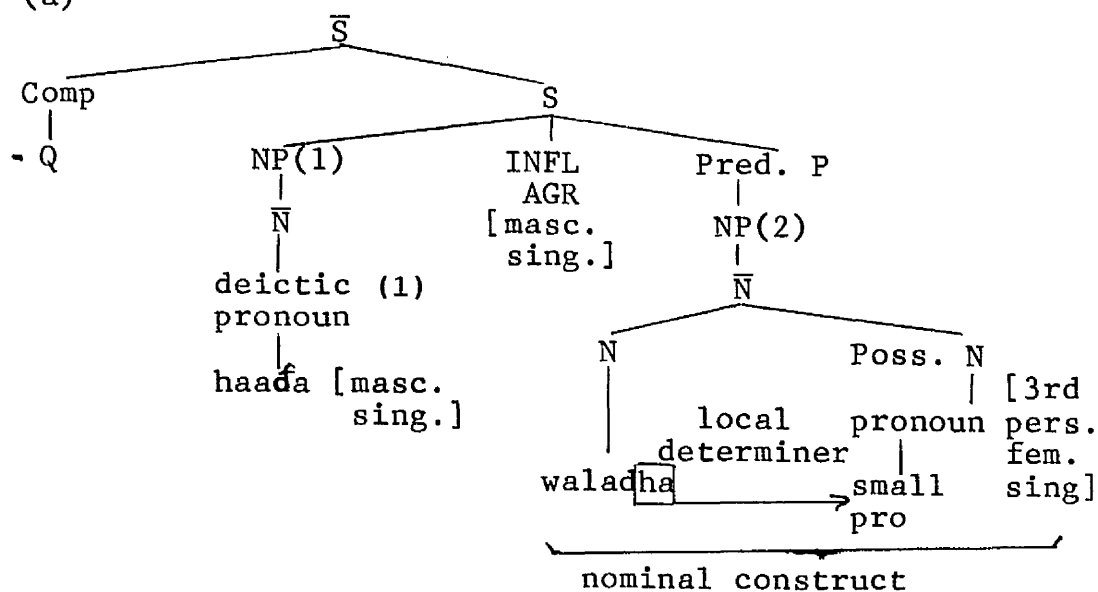
The girl is your (pl.) daughter.

(vii) /ilbint bintihum/

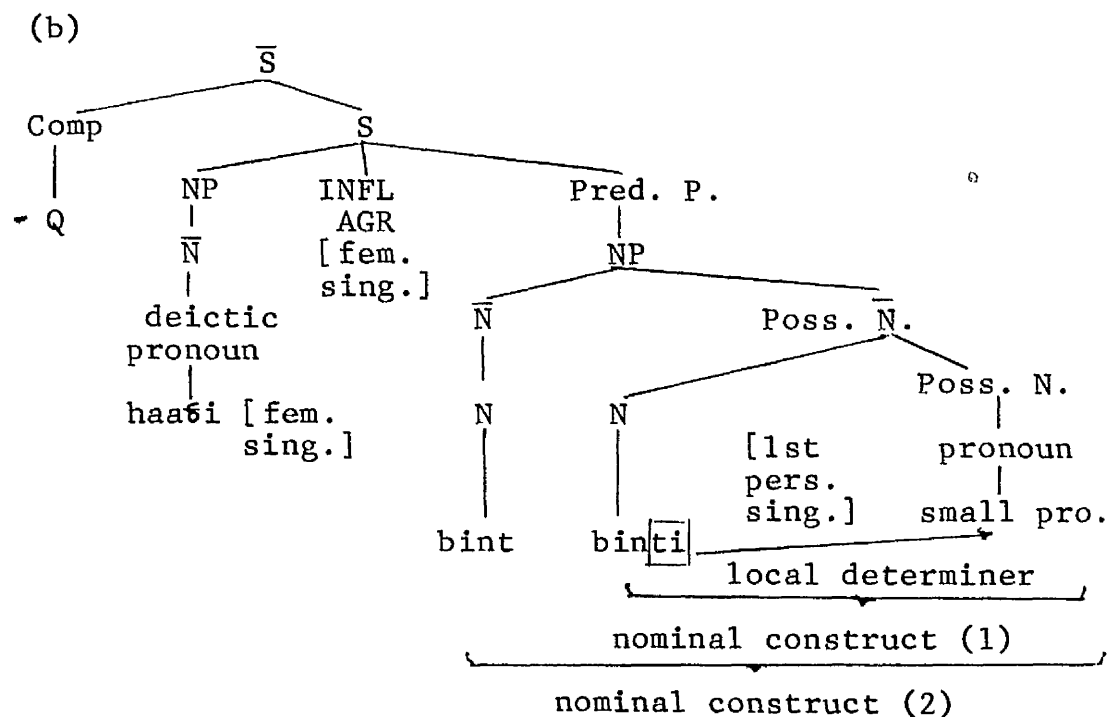
The girl is their daughter.

(2)

(a)



¹See pp. 381-391. of Chapter I, Part II, for the complete list of the D.A.D. pronominals deictic and non-deictic.



In S-structure 2(a), the pronominal suffix carried by /waladha/ is shown to function as the local determiner for the generation of a possessive small pro, thereby forming a nominal construct. In 2(b), the pronominal suffix carried by /bint i/ is shown to function as the local determiner for the generation of a possessive small pro, forming again a nominal construct. In (2)(b), it is also shown that the NP predicate also has another nominal construct that has the nominal /binti/ in a possessive relation to the head nominal ie /bint/. Therefore, in an NP or \bar{N} without AGR, the head nominal θ -

marks its complement assigning to it the θ role "possessor" and when there is no lexical material in that θ -position, there is a possessive small pro, which is locally determined by pronominal suffixes carried by the head nominal.

1.0.2.1.3: Government versus Proper Government

The above discussion shows that every θ -position must have either lexical material or an EC that is called "small pro." This has not only demonstrated that the D.A.D. free pronominal forms are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the prepredicate position but also that the non-subject pronominals in D.A.D. syntax are abstract pronominals, which are locally determined by pronominal suffixes carried by verbs, prepositions for the generation of a complement small pro or by nominals for the generation of a possessive small pro.

The above discussion has also shown that small pro must be locally determined by its governor. It follows that it involves a stronger form of government, which is called "proper government". It is regarded as

proper government because the relation between the locally determining governor and the small pro it locally determines is that between the head and its complement. Therefore, AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence properly governs the subject small pro it locally determines; the verb and the preposition properly govern the complement small pro they locally determine and the nominal properly governs the possessive small pro that it locally determines. As a result, AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence, V, P and N are proper governors in D.A.D. syntax.

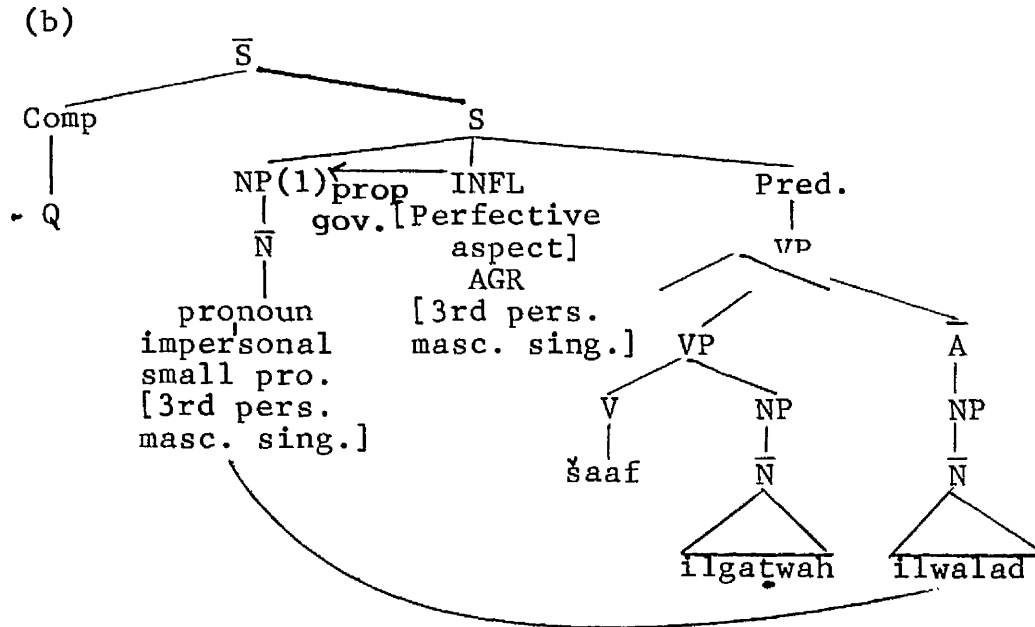
As for AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence, we have seen that it cannot locally determine the generation of a subject small pro; consequently, it is not a proper governor. But it is, nevertheless, the governor of the NP subject. This in turn lead us to the conclusion that that government does not entail local determination whereas local determination not only entails government but also proper government. It can, therefore, be said that proper government is represented in D.A.D. syntax by the relation between a locally determining governor and the small pro it locally determines.

Proper government in D.A.D. is also represented by the relation between the governor of an extraction site and the extraction site itself. This is because the governor is the head and the extraction site is its complement. This type of proper government in D.A.D. may be exemplified by AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence and the preverbal position after the application of the rule of subject inversion. Such a position has a trace of the inverted subject, which is called "an impersonal small pro", and in accordance with the Empty Category Principle ie (ECP), traces must be properly governed. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(1)

(a) /šaaf ilwalad ilgaṭwah/

Saw the boy the cat.



S-structure (1)(b) demonstrates that the subject /ilwalad/ has been moved from preverbal position, leaving behind a trace of it, which is an impersonal small pro in accordance with θ -theory and the theories of government and binding. That is, as the preverbal position is an unbound position, we cannot have an NP-trace. Furthermore, as the antecedent of this trace is in a θ -position, it must be a pro but it is a small pro because it is a properly governed position. And being a pleonastic element, it is an impersonal small pro.

This S-structure also shows that AGR properly governs NP(1) because it is an extraction site. That is, AGR properly governs NP(1) not only because it locally

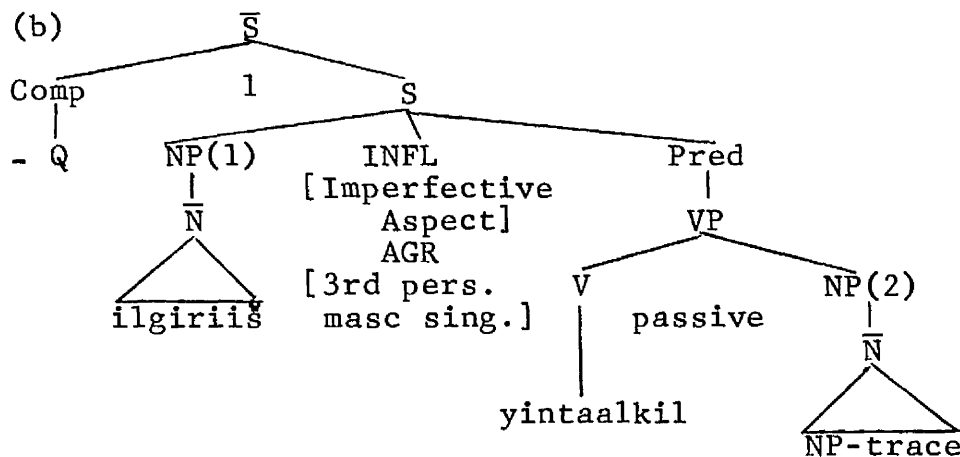
determines it since it is a small pro but also because it is an extraction site.

Proper government of extraction sites in D.A.D. syntax may also be exemplified by the complement of a passive verb, which has an NP-trace. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(2)

(a) /ilgiriš yintaakil/

Girish is edible



As the passive verb does not θ -mark its subject, /ilgiriš/ is generated as the complement of the verb and prior to S-structure it is moved to preverbal position by a movement rule, therefore, it leaves behind an

¹The NP-trace transmits its θ role to its antecedent at LF. NP(1) is also assigned Case by INFL.

NP-trace. Being an extraction site, NP(2) is properly governed by the verb, which is one of the proper governors in D.A.D. syntax.

The Comp A-position may also be an extraction site, in which case it is properly governed and we have a variable in it. Such is the case when the temporal NP is moved from Comp to an adjunct position in S node by the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(3)

(a) /iddar ξ iyyah hilwah halhiin/

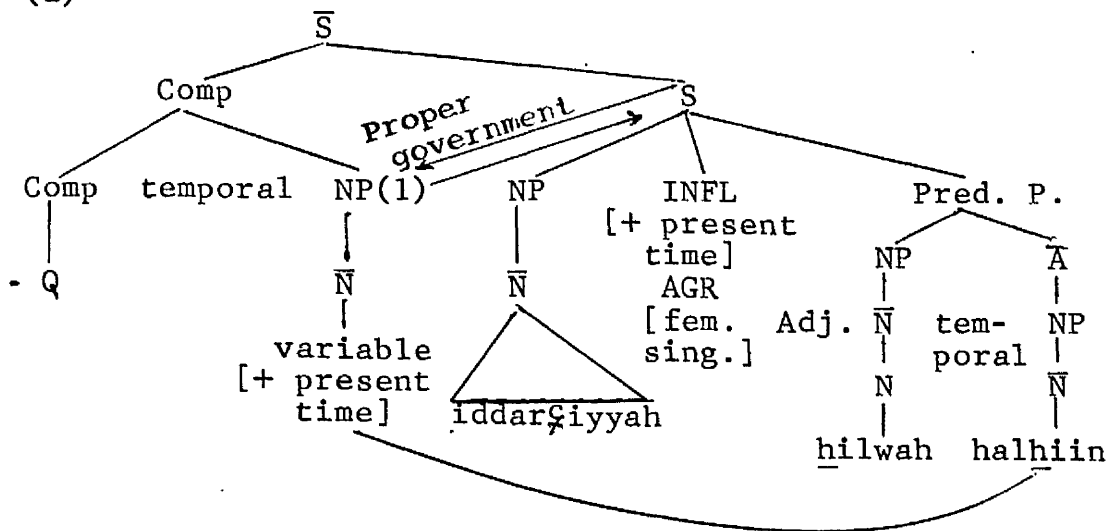
Dar ξ iyyah is pretty, now.

(b) /raahit halhiin/

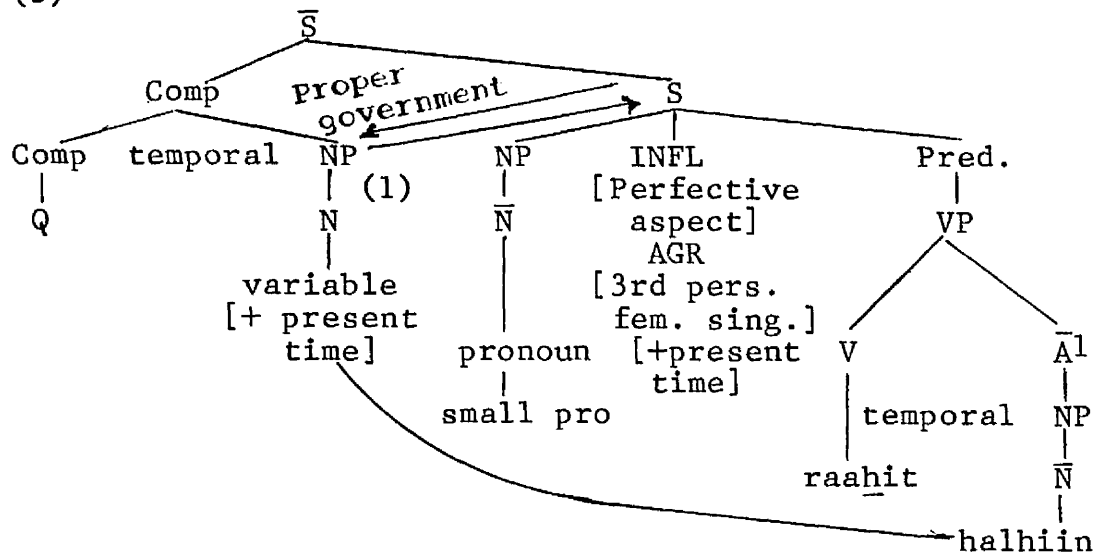
She has gone now.

(4)

(a)



(b)



As demonstrated by the above S-structures, /halhiin/ has been moved from Comp down to an adjunct position in S node leaving behind a trace. And as this trace is \bar{A} -coindexed and its antecedent is not in a θ -position, it is a variable. These S-structures also illustrate that S node properly governs NP(1) because it is an extraction site; therefore also S node may be a proper governor and this is the case when the temporal NP has been moved out of Comp . It is accordingly maintained that S node is also a proper governor in D.A.D. syntax, but only when there is a temporal NP that has been moved

¹For a more detailed discussion of the rule of "temporal lowering" ie (TL) see Chapter III of Part I and Chapter IV of Part II.

from Comp. down to an adjunct position in it (ie S node). This assumption allows all extraction sites to be properly governed and all traces to be properly governed, in accordance with the ECP.

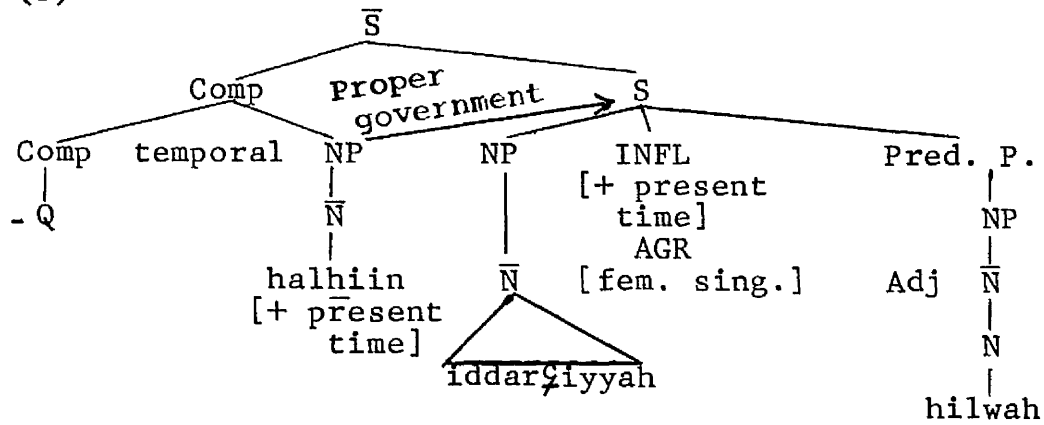
S-structures 4(a) + (b) also illustrate that the variable in NP(1) also properly governs the S node it introduces. This is due to the fact that the variable is in Comp. and Comp. is the head of \bar{S} , therefore, S node is its complement. That is, the variable properly governs the S node it introduces (even though it does not c-command it) because it is the head and S node is its complement.

Similarly, when the temporal NP does not subsume to the rule of (TL), it itself properly governs the S node it introduces since it is in Comp. at S-structure. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(5)

(a) /halhin --> iddarṣiyyah hilwah/

(b)



Being in Comp at S-structure, /halhiin/ properly governs the S node it introduces, making it register in its INFL the syntactic feature [+ present time].

The proper government of the variable or the temporal NP on the S node it introduces is, however, different in kind from that exercised on argument small pro; impersonal small pro; NP-trace and the variable itself. This is due to the fact that the temporal NP and the variable exercise proper government on the S node they introduce so as to control its time reference whereas S node properly governs the variable in its Comp. because it is an extraction site. The same can be said of the proper government of NP-trace and impersonal small pro. As for argument small pro as well as impersonal small pro, they are properly governed because their presence

requires local determination and local determination, as shown above, requires a relation stronger than just government and this is proper government.

Furthermore, argument small pro, impersonal small pro, NP-trace and variable are all properly governed because they are exponents of a single empty category and an empty category differs from an NP with lexical material in that it must be properly governed, and not just governed. They have been regarded as exponents of a single empty category because they partition the syntactic distribution of the NP category.

This analysis of the exponents of the empty category in D.A.D. syntax differs from Chomsky (1981a) and (1982) in that in D.A.D. there is an impersonal small pro and an argument small pro, both of which are properly governed, while in Chomsky (1981a) there is an ungoverned Pro and in Chomsky (1982) there is a governed pro. Furthermore, argument small pro in D.A.D. is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to the preverbal position. It is generated as the complement of a verb; a preposition and a nominal. It is also not restricted to principle (B) of the binding conditions. This is because small pro may also subsume to principle

(A) of the binding conditions and such is the case when it is governed by a reflexive clitic or bound by a topic NP.¹ And finally the variable in D.A.D. also differs from that of Chomsky (1982) in that it is \bar{A} -coindexed, and not \bar{A} -bound. This is due to the fact that the antecedent of the variable does not c-command it.

The above discussion of the exponents of the empty category has also shown that "the resumptive pronoun strategy" (Chomsky, 1982:60), which requires indexing of an \bar{A} -position to be at LF and not at S-structure, does not hold in D.A.D. syntax. This is demonstrated by the fact that the D.A.D. variable is \bar{A} -coindexed at S-structure, subsuming to principle (c) of the binding conditions. As for argument small pro, its indexation is also at S-structure. If it is not bound in its governing category, it subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions and if it is bound in its governing category, it subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions. The latter case is when small pro is governed by a reflexive clitic or bound to a topic NP, which is generated in the Comp A-position in the D.A.D. sentential configuration.

¹See pp. 141-162 of Introduction for a discussion of the Theory of binding in relation to D.A.D. See also Chapter IV of Part I.

That is, this analysis maintains that Comp. in the D.A.D. sentential configuration has an A-position and not an \bar{A} -position because it generates arguments, and these arguments are the temporal nominal and the topic nominal.¹

1.0.2.1.4: The base rule S --> NP INFL VP

The discussion of the Extended Projection Principle has shown that at S-structure and LF of the D.A.D. sentential configuration, there are gaps that partition the syntactic distribution of the NP category. These gaps are exponents of a single empty category, whose features are semantically recoverable by other elements in the sentences that have formal shape at PF. These formal shapes may be heavy inflection, on the basis of which an abstract pronominal (ie small pro) is set at S-structure and LF. It may also be an antecedent; on the basis of which the features of NP-trace and variable are determined. Therefore, these gaps are set up only by virtue of formal shapes at PF and as this is possible with the NP category in D.A.D. syntax, we have an empty category

¹See pp. 55-76 of θ -theory in relation to D.A.D. in the Introduction for examples.

whose exponents are argument small pro, impersonal small pro, NP-trace and a variable.

The fact that there is in D.A.D. syntax at S-structure an empty category that partitions the syntactic distribution of an NP helps us to maintain that every clause has a subject. That is, if the D.A.D. sentential configuration has no subject with lexical material, then it must have a subject which is one of the exponents of the above mentioned empty category. It may either be an argument small pro or an impersonal small pro due to the theory of government; the theory of binding and θ -theory. It follows that the base rule $S \rightarrow NP\ INFL\ VP$ as regards the presence of a subject in every clause does hold in D.A.D. syntax.

However, this base rule does not hold in D.A.D. syntax as regards the presence of a VP category in every clause. This is because in D.A.D. syntax there are, as above mentioned, two different types of clauses: verbal and nominal. The verbal clause has a VP category at every level of its syntactic representation but the nominal clause has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. Therefore, it is only the verbal sentence that subsumes to the above mentioned base rule

whereas the nominal sentence requires the following base rule ie $S \rightarrow NP\ INFL\ Pred.\ P$.¹

The assumption that sentences may be without a VP category has been refuted by Chomsky (1981), in which he claims that every clause must have a predicate and that every predicate has a VP category. This is due to his belief that "mood indication" is only brought about by the VP category. Accordingly, he assumes that every clause has a VP category, at least, at LF for the sake of its mood indication. Similarly, in (1980) J.R. Vergnaud and M.L. Zubizarretta also propose that there is an "abstract VP"² at every level of syntactic representation of even clauses that do not have a VP category at the level of surface structure. This proposal does not violate the projection principle, which projects the VP to every level of syntactic representation.

The assumption that there is an "abstract VP" at every level of syntactic representation or simply at LF in clauses that do not have a VP at the level of surface

¹See pp. 172-181. of Chapter I of Part I for a discussion of the D.A.D. base rule.

²See "Mixed Representations and Virtual Categories" mimeographed, Univ. of Massachusetts and M.I.T.

structure is another way of claiming that also the VP category can be an empty category. But the features of an empty category, as we have seen, must be semantically recoverable by another element in the sentence and that has formal shape at PF. Such is the case with the gaps that partition the syntactic distribution of the NP category. This is not possible with the VP category because if there is no VP category, nothing in the sentence can provide the sentence with the aspect of Perfectivity or Imperfectivity, characterizing the D.A.D. verb. This is due to the fact that the temporal NP conveys time distinctions other than that of the aspects of Perfectivity and Imperfectivity. It conveys time distinctions of present, past, future and continuous perspectives. Therefore, neither the VP category nor the temporal NP may substitute for the other since each has got its own distinctive time reference.

This in turn leads us to the conclusion that when the Perfective or Imperfective aspect is required in the D.A.D. sentential configuration, a VP category is generated at every level of its syntactic representation and in such a case we have a verbal sentence. And when the Perfective or Imperfective is not required in the D.A.D.

sentential configuration, then there is no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation and in such a case we have a nominal sentence. Furthermore, the possibility of having nominal sentences, which have no VP category at any level of their syntactic representation, is verified by the fact that even these sentences may indicate time but by means of a temporal NP, which indicates time distinctions of present, past, future or continuous perspectives.¹ Therefore, the base rule $S \rightarrow NP\ INFL\ VP$ applies only to the D.A.D. verbal sentence, and not to the nominal sentence because in the latter type of sentence there is no logical necessity for the assumption that it has a VP.

1.0.2.1.5: The Theory of Case

In the Case Theory of Chomsky (1981a), it is assumed that there is a Case Filter that takes place at PF and filters out any NP with phonetic matrix and no Case. Case is also regarded as the property of the syntax and so it is assigned to the NP as a whole. Then it goes down to the lexical head of the NP by a process of per-

¹See Chapters I and II of Part I for a discussion of D.A.D. nominal sentences and examples of this type of sentential configuration in D.A.D. syntax.

colation, satisfying the requirement that every noun with phonetic matrix must have Case.

For the Case assignment of the NP as a whole, Chomsky proposes that AGR of INFL assigns to the NP it governs nominative Case, and V as well as P also assign objective Case to the NPs they govern. Therefore, the Case assignment of nominative and objective Case is under government and by means of (-N) governors. As for the Case assignment of Genitive Case, this is assigned to NPs in the position of [NP-X] by means of a Case-assignment rule.

As D.A.D. also has a Case system, the theory of Case by Chomsky (1981a) has been applied despite the fact that it has required some modification. However, before embarking on these modifications, it is first necessary to demonstrate on what basis D.A.D. is said to have a Case system and this is demonstrated by its pronominal system since it has several sets of pronominal forms, each set of which is a manifestation of a different Case.

The pronominal forms that are only generated as subjects are illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) //?inhin/ nihattib wayyahum/

We plough with them.

(b) //intum/ šaaṭriin marrah/

You (pl) are very clever.

(c) //hiy/ šaaditin bintiṣ/

She is taking care of your (fem. sing.) daughter.

As shown by sentences (1) (a) - (c), there are pronominal forms that are generated as the subject of verbal and nominal sentences, that is, they are generated in preverbal position in sentence (a) and in the prepredicate position of an NP-predicate in sentences (b) + (c).

D.A.D. also has pronominal suffixes which demonstrate that its syntactic system has an objective and a possessive Case. The set of pronominal suffixes that demonstrate the presence of objective Case in D.A.D. syntax is associated with both verbs and prepositions and is characterized by the form /-ni/ for the pronominal suffix for the features of first person, singular. As for the set of pronominal suffixes that demonstrate the presence of possessive Case, it is associated with nominals and is characterized by the form /-i/ for the pronominal suffix for the features of first person sin-

gular.¹ Therefore, on the basis of its pronominal system, D.A.D. has a Case system of nominative, objective and possessive Cases, all of which are formally manifested. And it is accordingly maintained that the D.A.D. Nominal System has a Case system of nominative, objective and possessive Cases on the analogy of its pronominal system despite the fact that these Cases are not formally manifested in the rest of the nominal system.

However, a Case marker appears in the nominals /min hiina/ and /marran/. In /marran/, we have the /-a-/ vowel in the suffix /-an/ and in /min hiina/, we have the /-a/ vowel as its suffix. The fact that the indicated vowel in the above mentioned nominals is a Case marker is demonstrated by looking at the related nominal /halhiin/, in which there is no Case marker. As Case is the property of the syntax and as /halhiin/ is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A position, it does not have a Case marker. On the other hand, as /min hiina/ and /marran/ are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the Comp A position, the

¹See "The Extended Projection Principle" in the Introduction for a list of these sets of pronominals. See also pp. 314-316 of Chapter IV, Part II.

vowel /-a/ in both nominals is taken to be a Case marker. But it is the Case marker of oblique Case, and not nominative or objective Cases. This is due to the fact that nominals generated in the Comp. A-position are neither subjects nor complements. They are simply the head of the D.A.D. sentential configuration, as illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(2)

(a) //min hiina/ --> win hin fiiha/

From that time onwards, and we are in it (fem. sing)

We have always been in it.

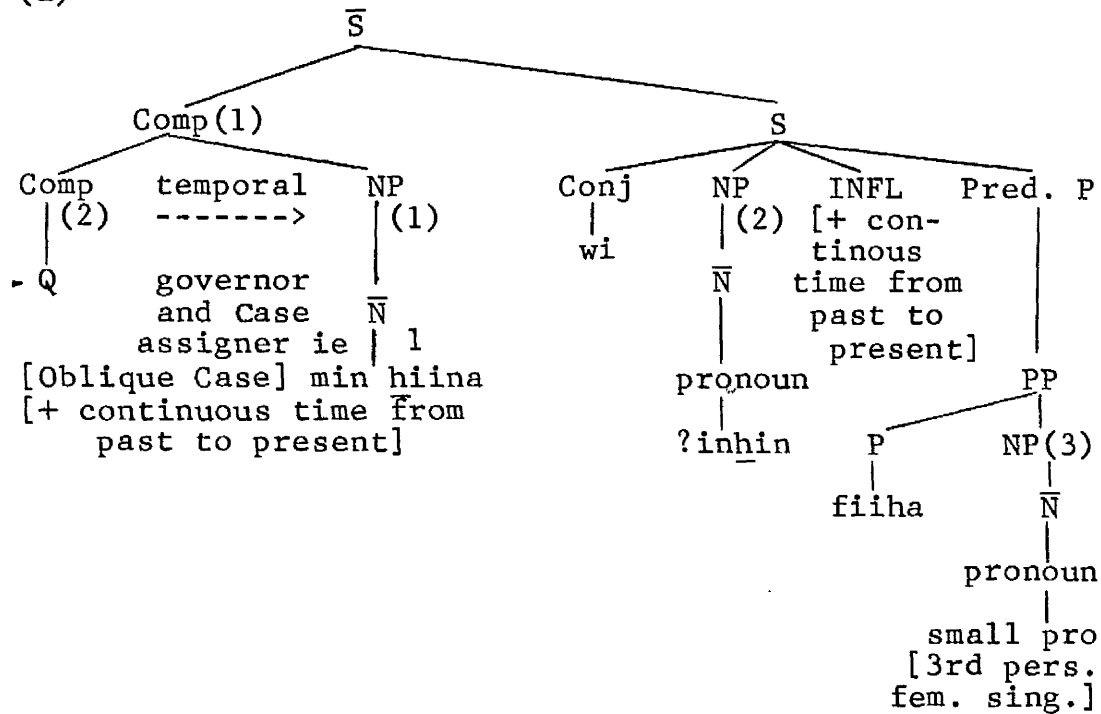
(b) //marran/ --> tizʒal wi marran --> tirɔa/

Sometimes, she gets upset and sometimes she is pleased.

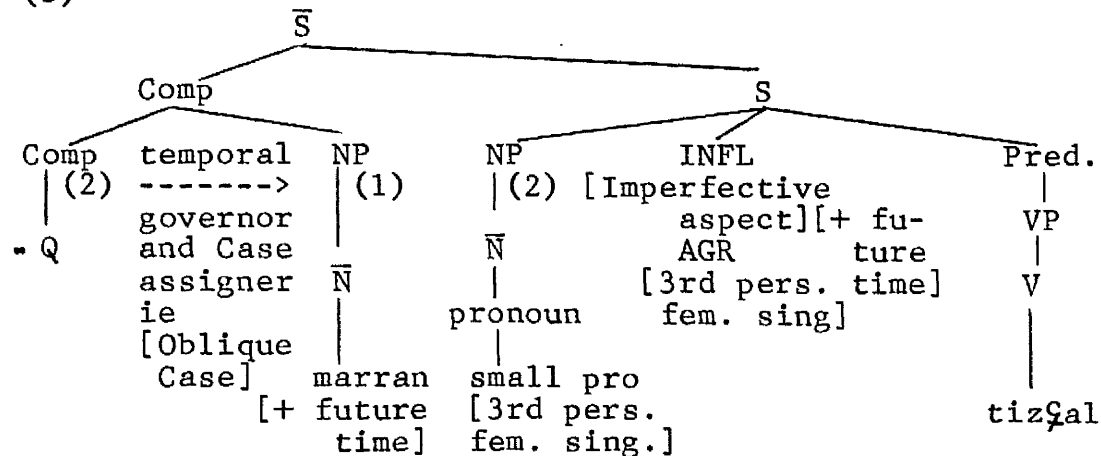
Focusing on sentence 2(a) and the first clause of sentence (b), we have the following S-structures, in which it is shown that Comp.(2) governs NP(1) and assigns to it Oblique Case.

(3)

(a)



(b)



¹For a discussion of why /min hiina/ is a nominal and not a PP see pp. 224-243 of Chapter III of Part I and pp. 476-485 of Part II.

S-structures 3(a) + (b) demonstrate that /min hii-na/ and /marran/ are generated in the Comp. A-position, in which they are governed and assigned oblique Case by Comp.(2). These S-structures also illustrate that oblique Case is formally manifested in these nominals.

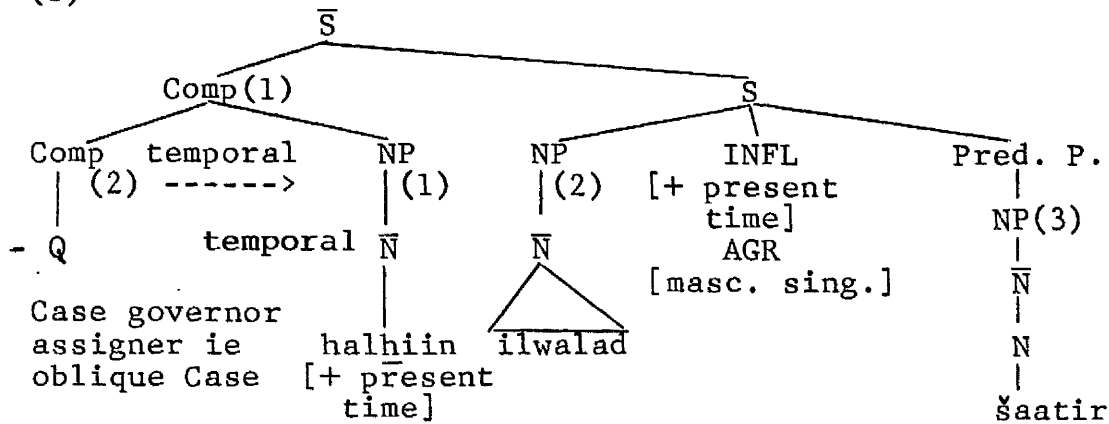
These examples, however, are an exception because most nominals generated in the Comp. A-position do not have a formal manifestation of Case. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(4)

(a) /halhiin --> ilwalad šaatir/

Now, the boy is studious

(b)



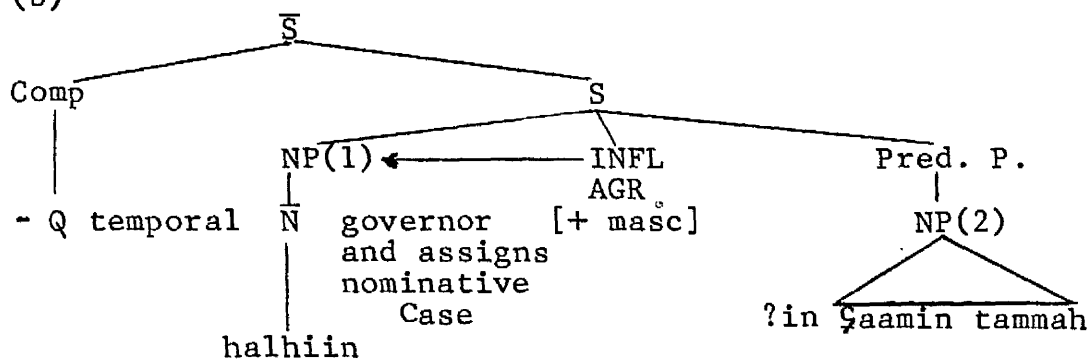
Despite the fact that NP(1) is generated in the Comp. A-position and is governed and assigned oblique Case by Comp.(2), yet /halhiin/ has no formal manifestation of Case. This is probably due to the fact that /halhiin/ is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to that of the Comp. A- position, ie, it may also be generated in other A-positions such as the prepredicate position of the D.A.D. nominal sentence, as illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(5)

(a) /halhiin ?in ʒaamin tammah/

This time [ie the present time] is complete luxury.

(b)



Being generated as NP subject, NP(1) in S-structure (5)(b) is assigned nominative Case by its governor INFL. That is, /halhiin/ in S-structure 4(b) is assigned oblique Case and in 5(b) it is assigned nominative Case.

This is due to the fact that Case is the property of the syntax.

Therefore, it is maintained that /min hiina/ has a formal Case marker because it is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position; and it represents in this respect a relic area in D.A.D. syntax. The importance of temporal nominals such as /min hiina/ is not only in representing a relic area but also in demonstrating that D.A.D. has a Case system that has another Case besides those of nominative, objective and possessive; ie, it also has an oblique Case.

The importance of Case in D.A.D. syntax is that it is one of the distinctive factors between the NP category and that of the VP. This is because it distinguishes between the nominal and the verb and the nominal is the head of the NP category and the verb is the head of the VP category. That is, as both the nominal and the verb inflect for number and as some nominals also share with the verb their capacity to inflect for gender when they are singular in form, Case is taken to be one of the distinctive factors between nominals and verbs. Furthermore, as the D.A.D. nominals represent a general class which has several subclasses and each subclass

shares some of the characteristics of the D.A.D. noun and yet there is not any specific nominal characteristic that is shared by all the subclasses of the Nominal Class, Case again represents a distinctive factor for all nominals ie unifying them and distinguishing from verbs. That is, the fact that they all have Case not only provides a common feature for all nominals in D.A.D. syntax, but also distinguishes between a nominal and a verb despite the fact that they share some inflectional properties such as that of number and gender. It naturally follows that Case also distinguishes between the VP category and that of the NP since Case is the property of the syntax.

In devising rules for the assignment of Case to NPs in D.A.D. syntax, the theory of Case by Chomsky (1981a) has been found to be roughly applicable in the D.A.D. verbal sentence; therefore, the verb assigns objective Case to the NP(s) it governs; the preposition assigns objective Case to the NP it governs and AGR of INFL assigns nominative Case to the NP it governs.¹ But when the NP subject has been moved from preverbal position to

¹See pp.320-325 which indicate that it is INFL that governs and assigns Case to NP subject.

an adjunct position in postverbal position, it is assigned nominative Case by way of its trace, with which it is coindexed and which is governed by AGR in INFL. Therefore, the postverbal subject inherits its Case from its trace and this indicates that "languages may have Case assignment rules not involving government" (Chomsky, 1981a:172) since the postverbal subject is not itself governed by AGR.

In the assignment of Case to NPs generated in the nominal S node, there has been some alterations to the theory of Case above mentioned. This is due to the fact that this theory has been devised to deal with sentential configurations that have a VP category whereas the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. Therefore, both the NP subject and its NP predicate in the D.A.D. nominal sentence are assigned Case by INFL,¹ which governs both NPs and which is found in every nominal sentence because it is an abstraction of the time reference in the sentence as a whole. This is in keeping with the fact that the

¹INFL is the governor and not AGR because some of the patterns of the D.A.D. nominal sentence have no AGR. See pp. 202-220 of Chapter II of Part I. See also Chapter III of part I for a discussion of how time is indicated in the D.A.D. nominal sentence.

D.A.D. nominal sentence is an equative sentence and so both the NP subject as well as its NP predicate are assigned nominative Case.

The D.A.D. sentential configuration whether nominal or verbal has been shown to generate an NP in its Comp. This NP has been shown to be assigned oblique Case by Comp(2). This is again another alteration that has been made to the theory of Case of Chomsky (1981a). This NP generated in Comp. may have either a temporal nominal or topic nominal, as shown above under the θ -theory in relation to D.A.D. syntax.¹ It may also have both a temporal nominal and a topic nominal and the following sentence, and its S-structure illustrate this so as to demonstrate how both nominals are assigned Case.

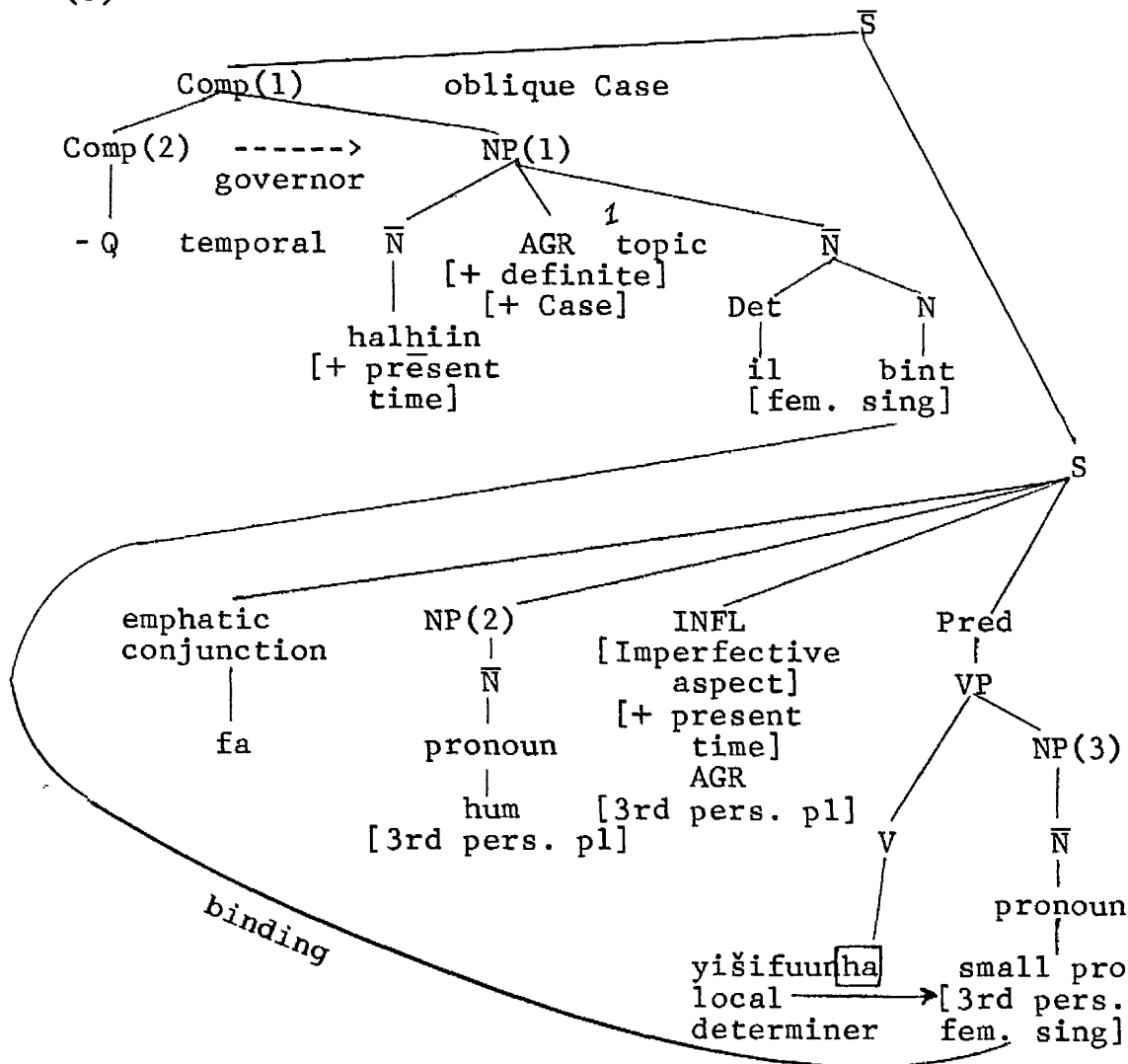
(6)

(a) /halhiin/ilbint/ --> fahum yišifuunha/

Now, the girl, they do see her.

¹See pp. 55-76.

(b)



S-structure 6(b) demonstrates that NP(1) has AGR.

The NP generated in Comp always has AGR because both the temporal nominal and the topic nominal in D.A.D. syntax are associated with the syntactic feature [+ definite].

And it is the presence of AGR in NP(1) that allows the

1 Both the temporal and the topic nominal^{are} under the same NP node because they are assigned the same Case (i.e. oblique). It is also to be noted that the NP node in D.A.D. syntax may have more than one nominal. (See discussion in Part II).

Case of the dominating NP to percolate down to both nominals in that NP, therefore, both nominals are assigned oblique Case because NP(1) is governed and assigned oblique Case by Comp.(2).

As for the assumption that the NP generated in Comp. is assigned Case by Comp(2), this has accounted for the Case assignment of the NP generated in Comp of both embedded as well as matrix clauses. This is because in the matrix clause the NP generated in Comp is not governed by an element in the higher clause and so it must be governed and assigned Case by an element within Comp itself. And this element is Comp(2), which "minimally c-commands" the NP generated in Comp. Therefore, despite the fact that there have been alterations made on the theory of Case by Chomsky (1981a) in its application to D.A.D. syntax, yet Case assignment on the basis of government as "minimal c-command" has nevertheless been maintained.

This is also maintained in the Case assignment of a temporal NP that has been moved from Comp by the rule of (TL) down to an adjunct position in S node because the moved temporal NP is assigned oblique Case by way of its trace, which is in Comp. at S-structure. It is there-

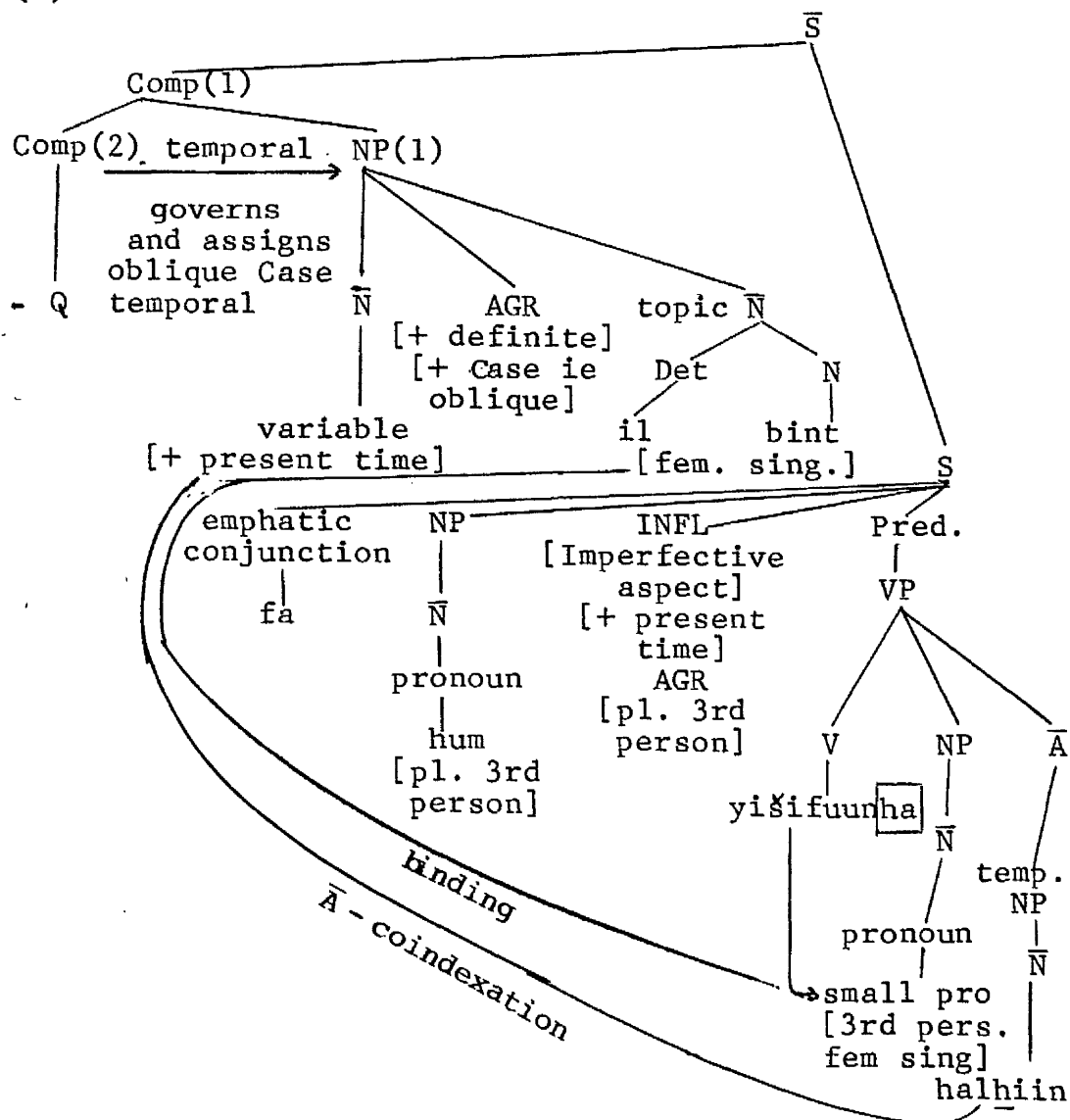
fore, governed and assigned Case by Comp(2), as illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(7)

(a) /ilbint --> fahum yišifuunha halhiin/

The girl, they do see her, now.

(b)



S-structure 7(b) demonstrates that Comp(2) governs and assigns Oblique Case to NP(1). This Case percolates to both nominals in NP(1); therefore, both the topic nominal and the variable are assigned Oblique Case. It follows that the function chain (variable, temporal NP) is assigned Case by way of the variable, which is governed by Comp(2).

1.0.2.2: The Theory of Binding

Chomsky proposes that "Case-marked S-structures undergo semantic interpretation, that is, they are subject to a set of rules which map them onto an initial representation of their meaning which he refers to as Logical Form (LF)". (A. Radford, 1981:363).

An initial task for any theory of semantic interpretation is to determine whether, in sentences containing more than one NP a given NP can be interpreted as being coreferential to another.¹

Accordingly, Chomsky believes that there are three different types of NPs:

- a) anaphors.
- b) pronominals.

¹"Coreferential to" means referring to the same entity.

c) R-expressions.

An anaphor is defined as an NP which can have no independent reference ie it takes its reference from some other expression in the sentence, which is its antecedent.

A pronominal can fulfil either of two functions; it can either take its reference from some other NP (ie its anaphoric use) or it can refer independently (ie its deictic use).

R-expressions are names or variables.

Chomsky also proposes a free indexing rule but unwanted coindexation is checked by the binding conditions, which state that:

(1)

A - An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

B - A pronominal is free in its governing category.

C - An R-expression is free.

The theory of binding is A-binding, and not \bar{A} -binding. The former holds "when the c-commanding element is in an A-position and the latter holds when it is not." (N. Chomsky, 1981a:184).

And "an A-position is one in which an argument such as a

name or a variable may appear in D-structure; it is a potential θ -position." (Chomsky 1981a:47).

Therefore, α binds β iff:

(2)

- a) α is in an A-position
- b) α c-commands β .¹

And α is the governing category of β iff:

(3)

- a) α is the minimal category containing β and the governor of β .
- b) $\alpha = \text{NP or S}$ ²

Applying the theory of binding as proposed by Chomsky (1981a) to D.A.D. syntax, we find that the D.A.D. pronominals are free in their governing category. This is illustrated by the following sentences and S-structures of sentences (4)(i), (ii) and (iii)(a):

¹"X c-commands Y if the first branching node dominating X dominates Y, and X does not dominate Y, nor Y, X". (A. Radford, 1981:367).

²The governing categories in English are NP or S. In D.A.D. it is slightly different. See the following discussion.

(4)

(i) Sentences with Imperfective verb forms:

- a) /(huw) yišuufih/ He sees him
 X Y X Y
- b) /(huw) yaklih/ He eats it (masc. sing)
 X Y X Y

(ii) Sentences with Perfective verb forms:

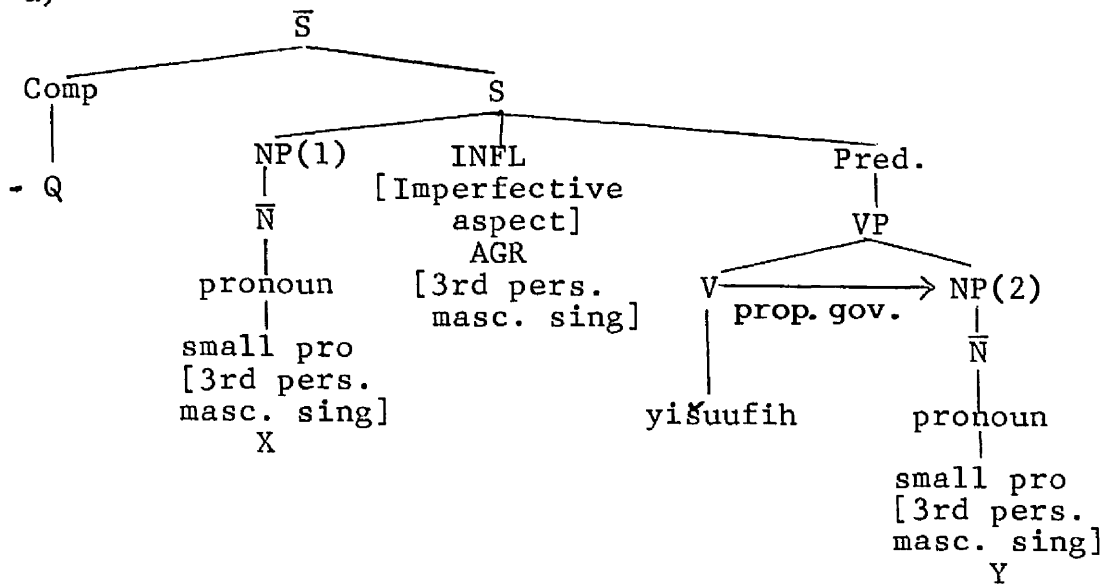
- a) /(huw) šaafih/
 He saw him
 X Y
- b) /(huw) ?akalih/
 He ate it (masc. sing)
 X Y

(iii) Nominal sentences:

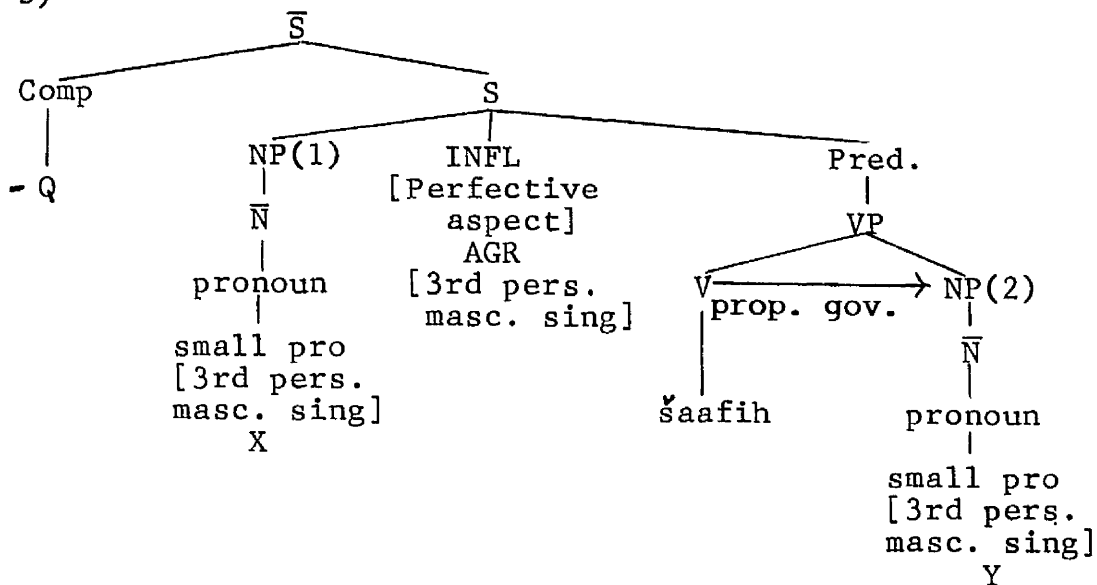
- a) /huw minih/.
 He is from it (masc. sing)
 X Y
- b) /hiy minha/
 She is from it (fem. sing)
 X Y

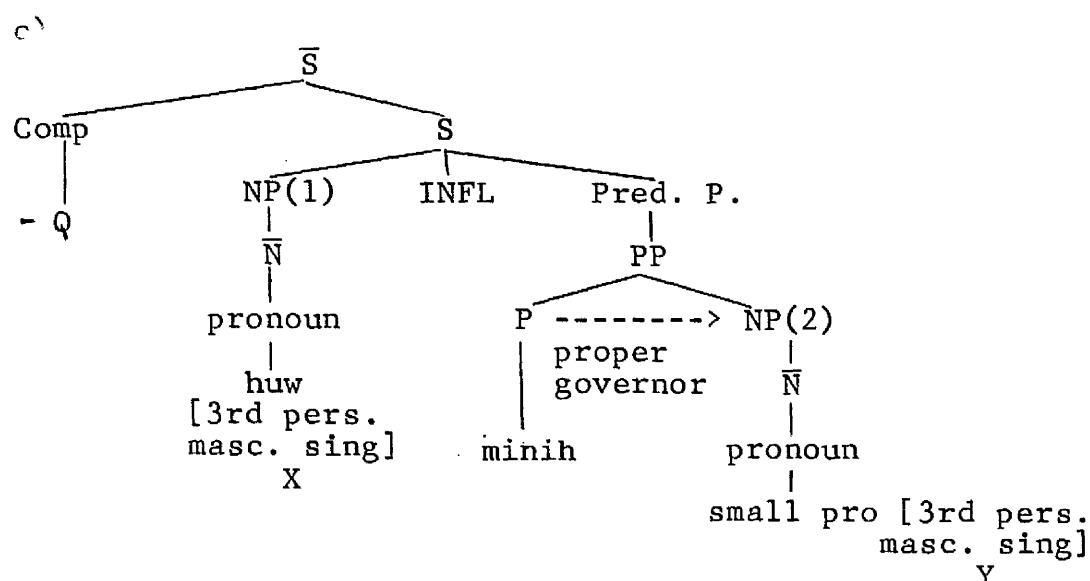
(5)

a)

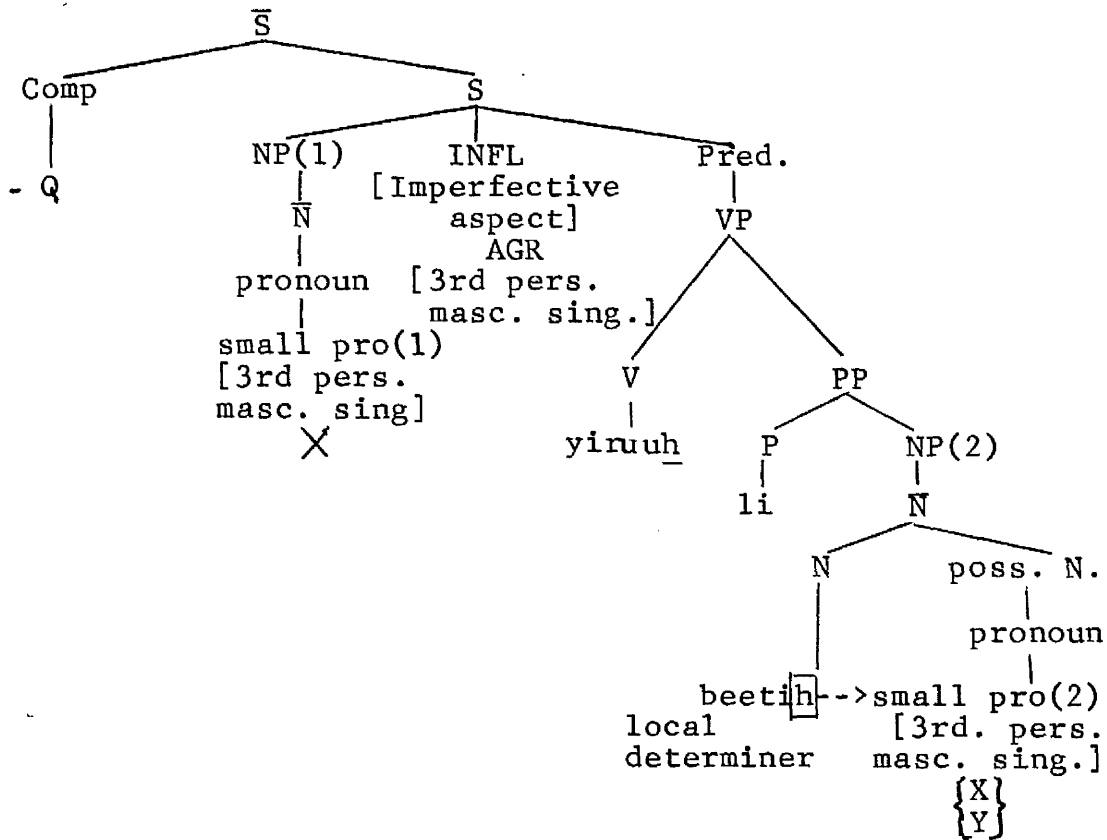


b)





The governor of NP(2) in S-structures (a) + (b) is V; therefore, S is the governing category of NP(2) and the pronominal in NP(2) is free in its governing category. Similarly, NP(1) is also free in its governing category, which is S since it is governed by AGR of INFL. NP(2) in S-structure (c) is shown to be governed by P but as the PP has no "accessible SUBJECT", it is not its governing category. An "accessible SUBJECT" has been defined by Chomsky (1981a) as the presence of a subject with which there is possible coindexation in an NP or the presence of AGR in an S node. In D.A.D., an "accessible SUBJECT" is always an NP with which there is



In the first interpretation, small pro(2) is not coreferential with small pro(1). In the second interpretation, small pro(2) is coreferential with small pro(1). As the first interpretation subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions and is in keeping with the syntactic behaviour of the pronominals in sentences (4), the second interpretation is regarded as accidental coreference. Therefore, pronominals in D.A.D.

So S_x do subsume to principle (B) of the binding conditions.

However, there are a few cases in which the D.A.D. pronominals are bound in their governing category ie they subsume to principle (A) of the binding conditions, and not principle (B). These are pronominals which are bound to a topic NP or which are bound to the NP subject, in which case they are governed by a reflexive clitic.

1.0.2.2.1: D.A.D. Pronominals bounds to a topic NP

The following sentences illustrate that the D.A.D. pronominals may be bound to the topic NP generated in the Comp. of their \tilde{S} node.

(1)

- (a) //ilbint/ --> ma tišuuf irrijaal/

The girl, she does not see the man.

- (b) //ilbint/ --> ma hiyb tišuuf irrijaal/

The girl, she does not see the man.

- (c) //ilbint/ --> fa hiy tišuuf irrijaal/

The girl, she does see the man.

(2)

- (a) //ilbint/ --> ma yišifuunha/

The girl, they do not see her.

- (b) //ilbint/ --> mahumb yišifuun^uha/

The girl, they do not see her.

- (c) //ilbint/ --> fahum yišifuun^uha/

The girl, they do see her.

(3)

- (a) //iddarṣiyyah/ --> fahiy hilwah/

Darṣiyyiah, so it is pretty.

- (b) //iddarṣiyyah/ --> maḥiyb hilwah/

Darṣiyyiah, it is not pretty.

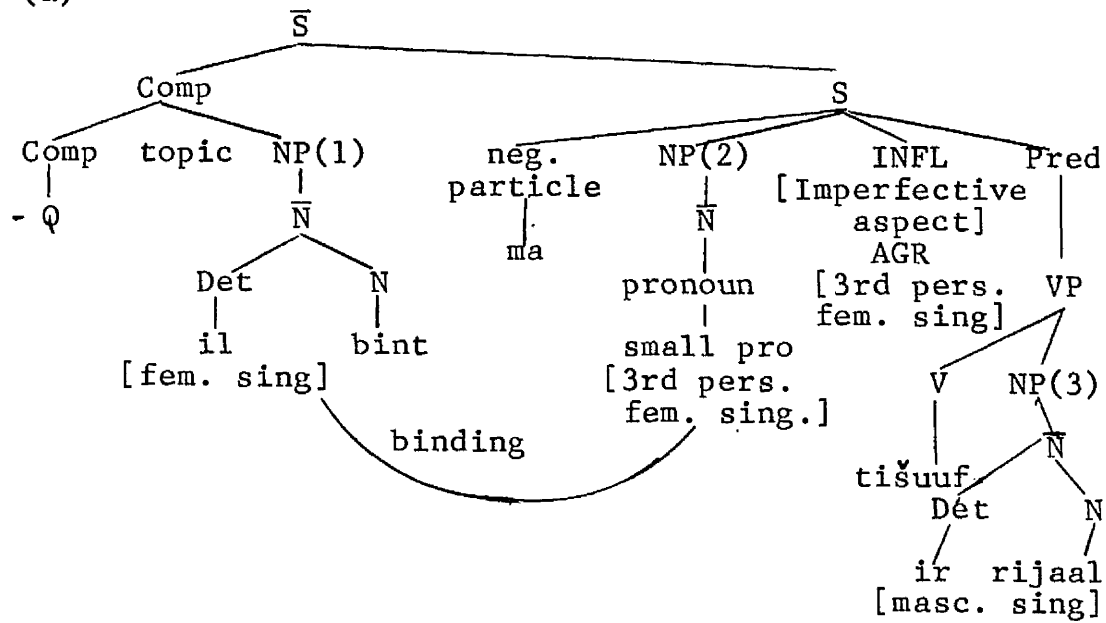
- (c) /*iddarṣiyyah/ --> inti hiy/

Darṣiyyiah, you (fem. sing.) are it (fem. sing.)

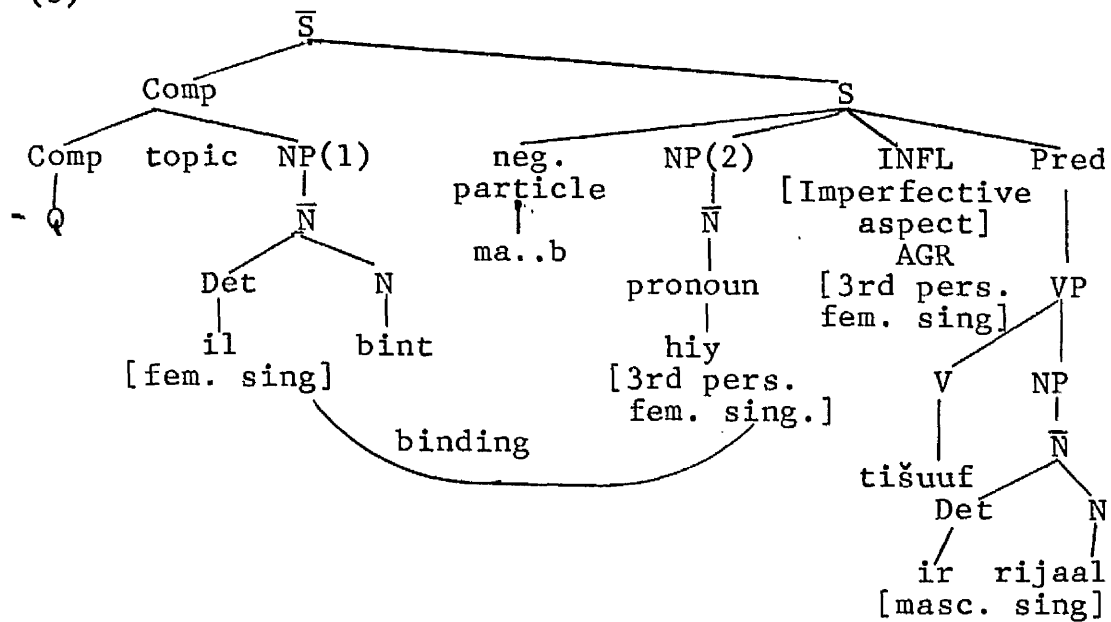
Sentences 1 (a)-(c) illustrate verbal sentences that have the NP subject bound to the NP topic, which is generated in an A-position in Comp. In sentence (a) the NP subject is a small pro but in (b) it is an overt pronominal. And in (c), we have an affirmative sentence with the emphatic conjunction /fa-/. The following S-structures demonstrate the internal structure of these sentences ie (1)(a) - (c):

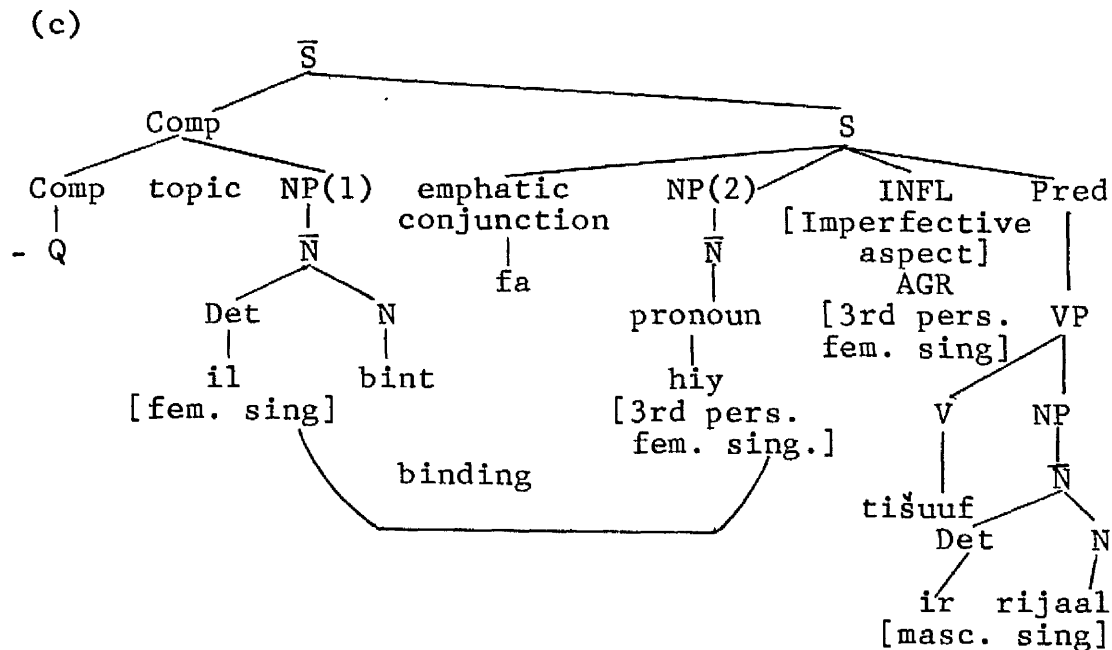
(4)

(a)



(b)



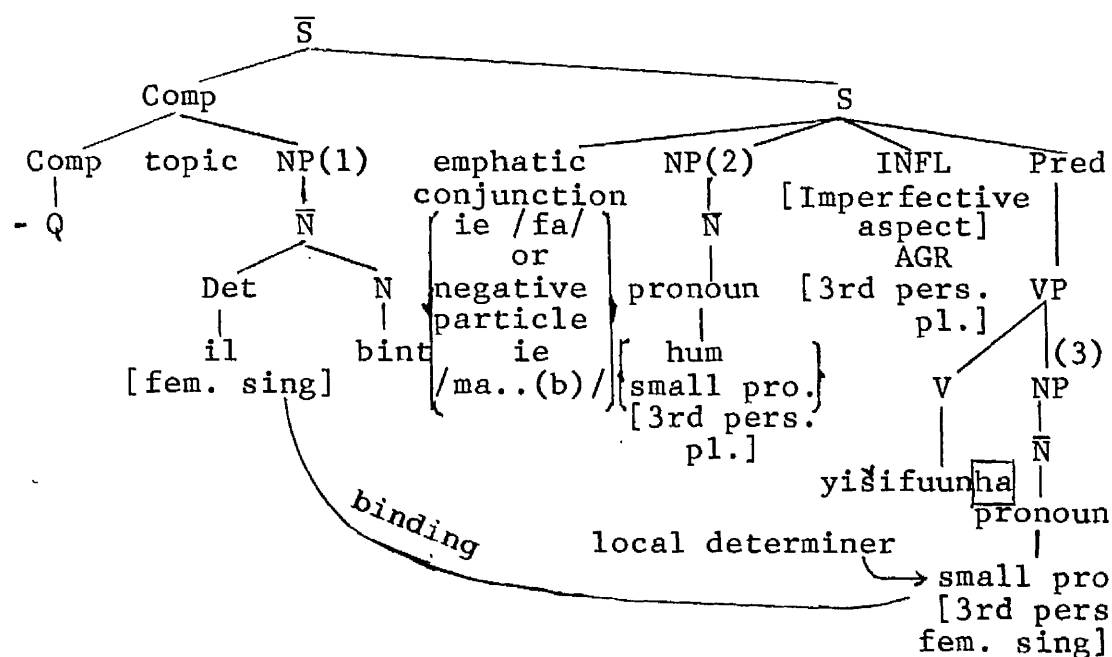


As indicated by S-structures (4) (a) - (c), the pronominal in NP(2) is bound in its governing category¹ to NP(1). Its governing category is \bar{S} because it is bound to the NP topic, which is generated in the Comp. A-position. It is to be noted that NP(1) binds NP(2) even though it does not c-command it. This is due to the fact that NP(1) is generated in Comp, which is the head of \bar{S} and so has S node as its complement. This allows NP(1) to govern NP(2) and in turn to bind it since it is coindexed with it.

¹ For a definition of "governing category" see Chomsky 1981a:220. That is, the topic NP is the accessible SUBJECT and INFL is the governor of NP(2), therefore \bar{S} is the governing category.

Sentences 2(a)-(c) are verbal sentences that have the object NP bound to the topic NP. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure:

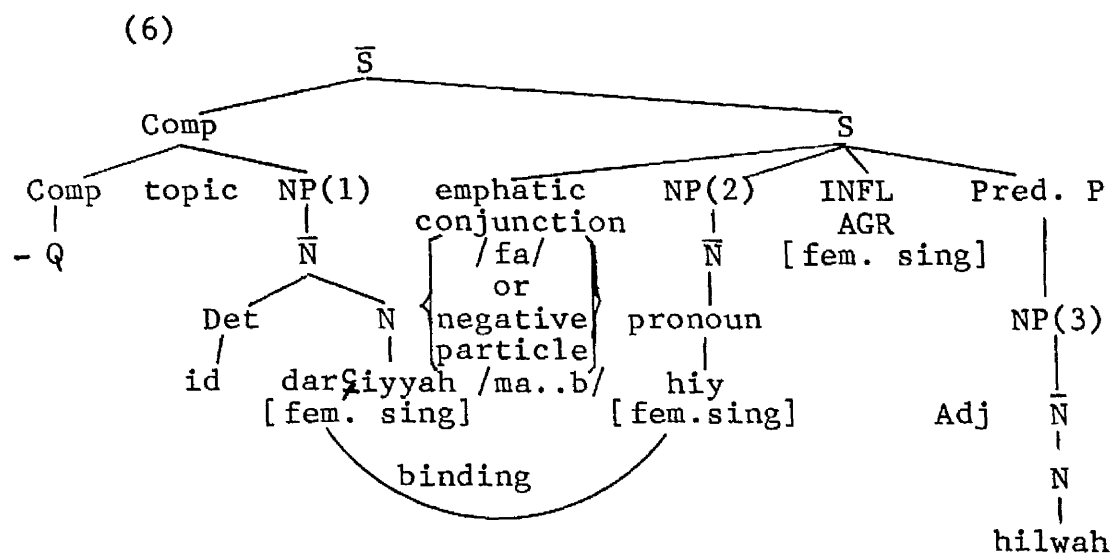
(5)



As shown by S-structure (5), $NP(1)$ binds $NP(3)$, which is a small pro. That is, as $NP(1)$ is generated in an A-position and as it is coindexed with as well as c-commands $NP(3)$, it follows that $NP(1)$ binds $NP(3)$ in its governing category, which is \bar{S} . Therefore, in a D.A.D. verbal sentence the topic NP binds in its governing category either the NP subject or the object NP, which

is in both cases a small pro. This demonstrates that a pronominal that is bound by a topic NP subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions, and not to principle (B).

Sentences (3) (a)-(c) also illustrate that a pronominal may be bound to the topic NP in nominal sentences. But when the sentence is nominal, the pronominal bound to the topic NP must be the NP subject. This is why sentence 3(c) is ill-formed. Furthermore, the pronominal in the NP subject of a nominal sentence is always an overt one, and not a small pro.¹ This is demonstrated by the following S-structure:



¹Recall that the subject of a nominal sentence cannot be a small pro, unless it is locally determined by an element in its Comp.

That is, it is \bar{S} that is the governing category for the pro nominal /hiy/ because it is \bar{S} that has its governor ie INFL and its accessible SUBJECT ie topic NP.

Therefore, a pronominal in the governing category of an \bar{S} that has an "accessible SUBJECT" (ie topic NP) is bound in its governing category, violating principle (B) of the binding conditions.

1.0.2.2.2: D.A.D. Pronominals bound to the NP subject

D.A.D. pronominals may also be bound to the NP subject. Such is the case when the pronominal is governed by a reflexive clitic. In the nominal sentences, the reflexive clitic is a nominal whereas in the verbal sentence it is a verbal affix. This is illustrated by the following reflexive sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences

(a) /huw mistansin [min [nafsih]]/

He is pleased with himself.

(b) /hiy mistanistin [min [nafsaha]]/

She is pleased with herself.

(2) Verbal sentences

(a) /yi $\bar{t}a$ zayyan lil \bar{q} irs/

He decorates himself for the wedding.

(b) /yi $\bar{t}a$ gahuun/

He coffees himself ie He gives himself coffee.

The D.A.D. nominal reflexive sentences are just a set within a set of nominal sentences in which the predicate phrase has an NP and a PP. It is demonstrated by the following non-reflexive sentences:

(3)

(a) /huw mistansin minha/

He is pleased with her.

(b) /huw mistansin minih/
He is pleased with him
X Y

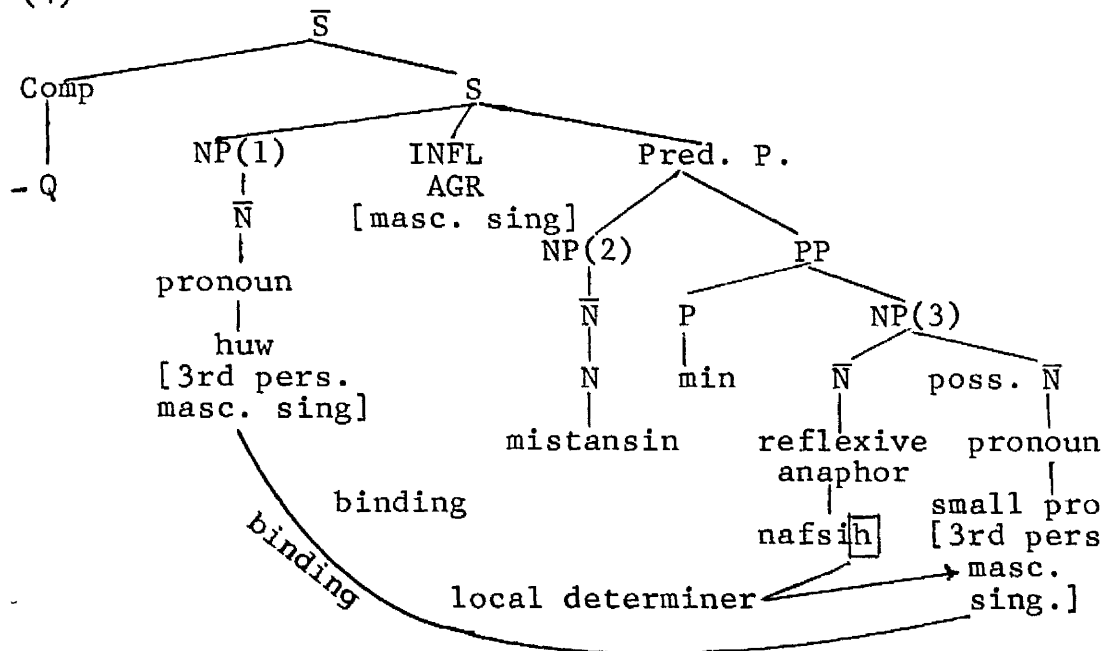
(c) /huw mistansin min ilwalad/

He is pleased with the boy.

As can be seen by a comparison of sentences (1) with those of (3), reflexivity is associated in the D.A.D. nominal sentence with a PP that has the reflexive clitic ie /nafs + pronominal suffix/. It is the reflexive clitic ie /nafs + pronominal suffix/ that locally determines the presence of a small pro that is bound in its governing category. And the governing category of this small pro is S node because it is S node that has its governor and its "accessible SUBJECT", which is the NP

subject. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)a, in which NP(3) is bound by NP(1).

(4)



Within NP(3), we have the reflexive clitic /nafsih + pronominal suffix/, which locally determines the generation of a small pro that is bound in its governing category (ie S node). It is S node that has an accessible SUBJECT ie NP subject and it is the reflexive clitic that indicates that there is coindexation between small pro and NP(1).

The D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentence is also just a set within a general set that has a complement small pro. And it is the presence of the verbal affix /-ta-/

that makes the complement small pro in the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentence bound in its governing category. This is demonstrated by the following non-reflexive sentences and in comparison with the verbal reflexive sentences, afore mentioned.

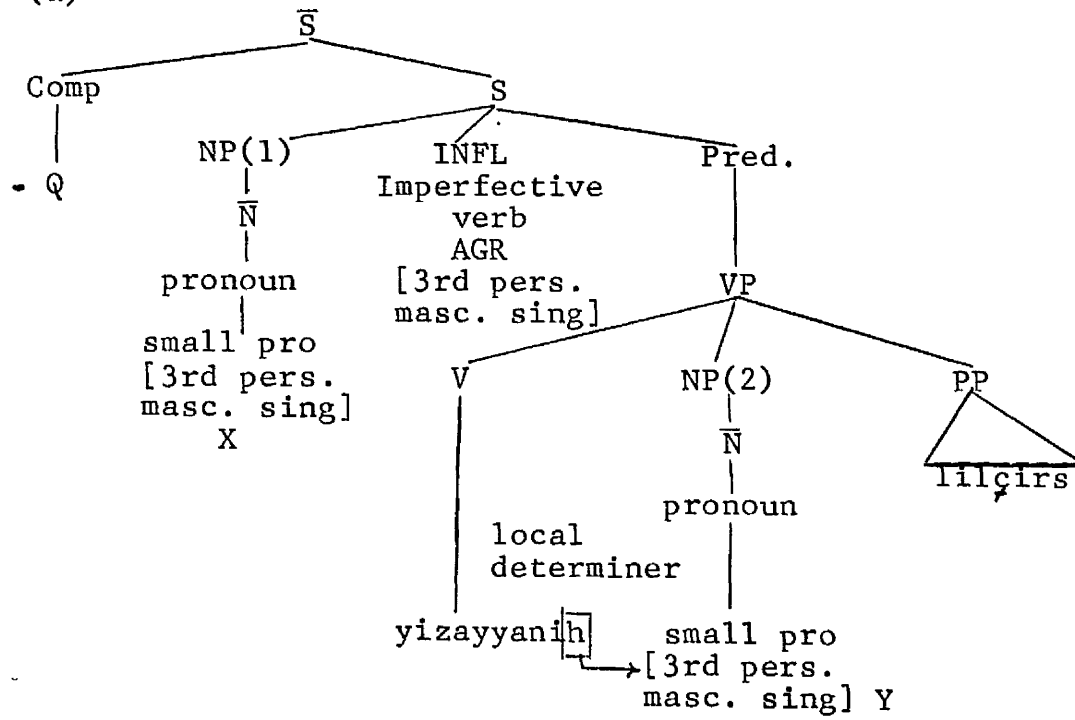
(5)

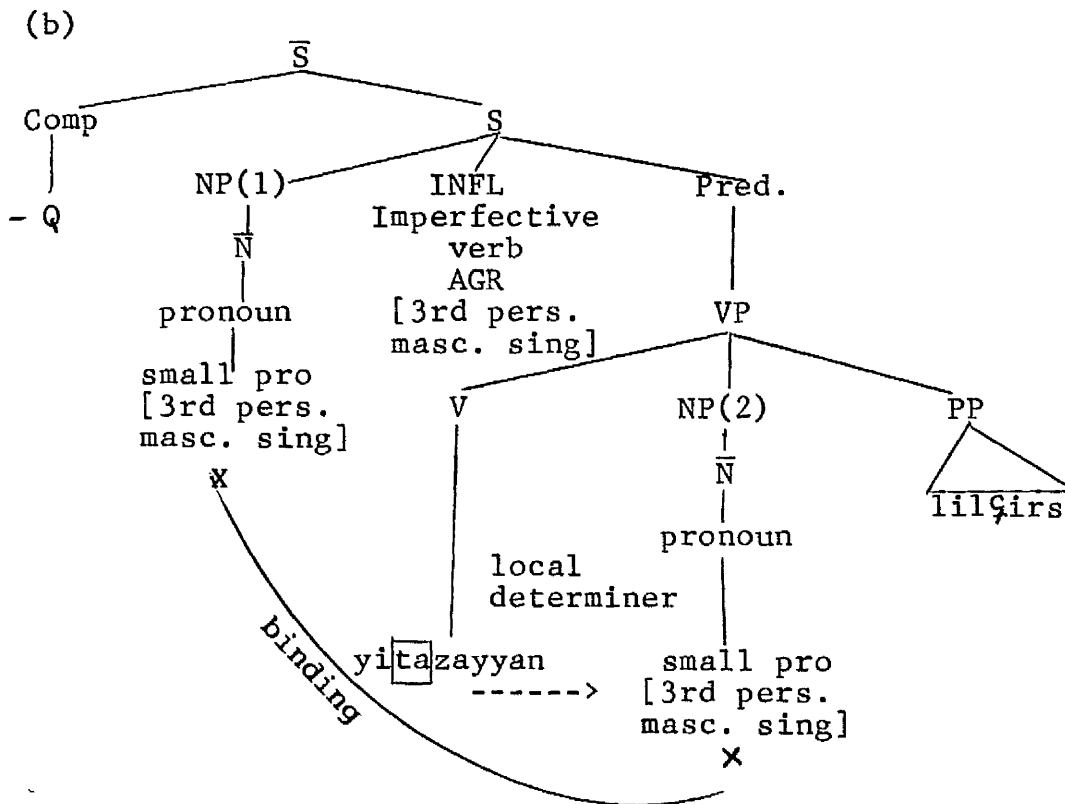
- (a) /yizayyanih lilçirs/
He decorates him for the wedding
X Y
- (b) /yigahwih/
He coffees him
X Y

As can be seen from sentences (2), the reflexive verb has the affix /-ta-/. As for the non reflexive verbs in (5), they do not have the affix /-ta-/ but have verbal affixes that locally determine a small pro that subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions. The verbal affix /-ta-/, on the other hand, locally determines the generation of a small pro that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions because it indicates that this complement small pro not only has the same features as the NP subject but is also confere[n]tial with it. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentence (5)(a) and 2(a):

(6)

(a)





The complement small pro in S-structure 6(a) (ie in NP(2)) is free in its governing category, in accordance with principle (B) of the binding conditions. As for the complement small pro in S-structure 6(b) (ie NP 2), it is bound in its governing category because it is governed by a verb that has the verbal affix /-ta-/, which in turn locally determines the presence of this small pro. The governing category of this small pro is S node because it is S node that has an accessible SUBJECT ie NP(1). That is, the reflexive verb is similar

to the non-reflexive verb in that they both have affixes that locally determine a subject and a complement small pro, each of which has a separate θ role. But they differ in that the reflexive verb indicates that this small pro, which is the complement, is coreferential with its NP subject.¹

The above very brief discussion has shown that the D.A.D. pronominal may be bound in its governing category when it is governed by a verb or a nominal with a binding agent, which has been called a reflexive clitic. It has also shown that the D.A.D. pronominal is also bound in its governing category when it has a topic NP, generated in its Comp. and coindexed with it. The syntactic behaviour of these pronominals may be regarded as a violation of principle (B) of the binding conditions since these pronominals are not free in their governing categories. These pronominals may also be regarded as the reflexive anaphor in D.A.D. syntax, in which case they naturally subsume to principle (A) of the binding conditions. The second assumption is in keeping with Chomsky's assumption that:

¹For a more detailed discussion of reflexivity in D.A.D., see Chapter IV of Part I.

opacity conditions seem to hold of certain elements that do not function as anaphors in the narrow sense that applies to NP-traces, each other, Pro etc; but that fall under a somewhat looser characterization of the notion. (Chomsky, 1981a:219)

PART ONE

THE AUTONOMY OF THE D.A.D. NOMINAL SENTENCE

1.0: Introduction

In Part One, we discuss the autonomy of the nominal sentence in D.A.D. syntax. That is, it is not derived from the base rule that generates sentential configurations that have a VP category; therefore, it requires a distinct base rule that has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation.

The autonomy of the nominal sentence is verified by the fact that it exemplifies a different syntactic behaviour from that of the verbal sentence. This difference may be demonstrated by the syntactic behaviour of a nominal sentence as regards reflexivity and reciprocity since each of them is conveyed in the nominal sentence by means of a nominal whereas in the verbal sentence it is by means of a verbal affix. It may also be demonstrated by the fact that the movement rules that apply to verbal sentences do not apply to nominal sentences. For example, the movement rule of "subject inversion" ap-

plies to the verbal sentence, and not to the nominal sentence.

The third and more important difference between the nominal sentence and the verbal sentence concerns how each sentence type conveys time. Time is indicated in the nominal sentence by means of a temporal NP, which is generated in its Comp. On the other hand, time is indicated in the verbal sentence by means of the temporal NP, which is generated in its Comp. as well as the verb form, which may be perfective or imperfective. This means that the D.A.D. nominal sentence with no temporal NP is a factual proposition, which is timeless unless it is associated with the previous discourse or it acquires the time reference of its speech reference.¹ As for the verbal sentence, it is associated with a time reference on the sentence level even when it has no temporal NP. This is because a verbal sentence has a verb form which may be perfective or imperfective, and each verb form conveys a distinct aspect.² And when the verbal sen-

¹For a discussion of the Indication of Time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence see Chapter III, Part I, pp. 222-56.

²For a discussion of the Indication of Time in the D.A.D. verbal sentence see Chapter III, Part I, pp. 56-67.

tence also has a temporal NP, its time reference is partly determined by its verb form and partly by the time reference of its temporal NP.

This difference between the nominal sentence and that of the verbal sentence is important not only in indicating the autonomy of the nominal sentence but also in verifying the logical possibility of having a sentential configuration with no VP category. This is due to the fact that a D.A.D. sentential configuration without a VP category at any level of its syntactic representation is still capable of indicating time. But it indicates time by a category other than that of the VP; it is an NP that is generated in its Comp, in which case it governs the time reference of the S node it introduces and is accordingly called a "temporal NP".

The temporal NP has been regarded as being generated in Comp, and not moved to Comp, on the following premises. Firstly, Comp of the D.A.D. sentential configuration not only generates temporal nominals but also topic nominals, according to which it has been maintained that there is an A-position in the Comp. of the D.A.D. sentential configuration. The fact that the

temporal is generated in Comp., and not moved in Comp, has previously been indicated by the incapacity of some temporals to be moved from the Comp. It follows that where the temporal is not in Comp., it is regarded as having been moved from Comp. by a movement rule and this rule has been called (TL) since it lowers the temporal from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node.¹ In other words, the D.A.D. temporal is generated in Comp. and is only moved by an optional rule from Comp. down to S node.

As for the topic nominal, it is also generated in Comp. and this is verified by the fact that it does not subsume to any movement rule. This is probably because it binds an NP in the S node it introduces. This differentiates the topic NP from the NP subject, i.e., the former NP is generated in Comp. and binds an NP in the S node it introduces whereas the latter NP (ie the subject) is generated in a preverbal position in S, controls the verb form and, does subsume to a movement rule that moves the NP subject from preverbal

¹See Part II, pp. 450-474 for a discussion of the rule of (TL).

position to a postverbal position and that is called subject inversion.¹ On the other hand, the topic NP cannot be moved from Comp. and this indicates that the topic NP is different from the NP subject and that accordingly the Comp. of the D.A.D. sentential configuration has an A-position which generates not only temporal nominals but also topics.

Secondly, phonological evidence may also be used to show that the temporal nominal as well as the topic are generated in a position prior to S node ie in Comp. This is demonstrated by the fact that there is a slight pause that follows them, as indicated by the small arrow in the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /halhiin/ --> iddar&siyyah barad/

Now, Dar&siyyah is cold.

(b) /ilbint/ --> fahiyy tig&sid filbeet/

The girl, she does sit at home.

That is, in sentence (1a) a temporal nominal is generated in its Comp. and in (1b) a topic nominal is generated in its Comp. and this is indicated by the slight

¹For an example, see pp. 50-52 of Introduction.

pause after both /halhiin/ and /ilbint/, indicating that they are generated prior to S node.

Thirdly, the assumption that the D.A.D. temporal is generated in Comp. enables the temporal NP to exercise "Time" government on the S node that it or its trace introduces. That is, if the temporal has not been moved by the optional rule of (TL), it directly exercises Time government on the S node it introduces but if it has been moved, it still exercises Time government by way of its trace, which is still in Comp., and Comp., as we have seen, is the head of \bar{S} and so S node is its complement.¹

The above discussion has summarized the fact that D.A.D. has two different types of sentences: one with a VP category and the other without a VP category at any level of its syntactic representation and that both types have an A-position in their Comp., which generates temporal and topic nominals. It has also shown that the temporal exercises time government on the S node it or its trace introduces and this in turn demonstrates that

¹See pp. 50-52 for a discussion of government as the relation between a head and its complement.

the time reference of the D.A.D. sentential configuration may be indicated by a category other than a VP ie an NP that is called a Temporal NP. This verifies the feasibility of having a sentential configuration without a VP category; and consequently, there is no logical necessity for the assumption that every clause has a VP category at LF even when it does not appear at surface structure, as Chomsky (1981a) claims.

Accordingly, it is on the above mentioned assumptions about D.A.D. syntax that Chapter I discusses the D.A.D. base rule, which generates a verbal as well as a nominal sentence. It also generates temporal and topic nominals in the Comp. of both verbal and nominal sentences.

In Chapter II, there is a description of the basic D.A.D. nominal sentence patterns; all of which have no VP category.

In Chapter III, there is a description of how Time is indicated in the D.A.D. nominal sentence, demonstrating that it is dependent on the temporal NP. In this chapter, there is also a description of how time is indicated in the D.A.D. verbal sentence, showing that it is dependent on both the verb form and the temporal NP.

In Chapter IV, there is a description of how the nominal sentence and the verbal sentence display a different syntactic behaviour as regards reflexivity and reciprocity. In this chapter, it is also shown that the rule of subject inversion applies to the verbal sentence and not to the nominal sentence.

Chapter IV also shows that the general principles of language such as the theory of government and that of Case theory are applicable to the D.A.D. nominal sentence, apart from their applicability to the verbal sentence. This demonstrates the sentential status of the constructions called "nominal sentences" because these principles have been devised for an analysis on the sentence level. That is, the fact that the theory of government,¹ θ -theory,² the theory of binding³ and the theory of Case are all applicable to the D.A.D. nominal sentence demonstrates that it is a construction of a sentential status. This in turn verifies the fact that

¹See the Introduction pp. 36-122 for a discussion of the Theory of government in relation to D.A.D.

²See the Introduction pp. 36-111 for a discussion of θ -theory in relation to D.A.D.

³See the Introduction pp. 141-162 for a discussion of the theory of binding in relation to D.A.D. See also Chapter IV of Part I.

the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not only a linguistic fact of this dialect of Arabic but also a logical possibility even in theory since the general principles of languages are applicable to it.

$$(x) \text{ Pred} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pred. P} \\ \text{VP} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$(xi) \text{ Pred. P} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Prep}) \text{ NP} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right\} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right)$$

$$(xii) \text{ VP} \rightarrow V \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{Prep}) \text{ NP} \\ \bar{S} \end{array} \right\} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right)$$

$$(xiii) \text{ V} \rightarrow \text{aspect}^1$$

$$(xiv) \text{ N} \rightarrow \text{Case}^2$$

The above base rule generates verbal as well as nominal sentences. However, this rule needs the follow-

¹The D.A.D. verb is distinguished from the nominal in that it inflects for aspect (ie perfectivity and imperfectivity). That is, despite the fact that both the verb and the noun in D.A.D. inflect for number, yet they differ in that the verb inflects for aspect. See Chapter IV of Part I for a more detailed discussion.

²N = nominals in D.A.D. The nominal class is a large class that has subclasses such as adjectives, participles, and temporal nominals. Each subclass has different inflectional properties but nevertheless all the properties they exhibit are characteristic of the noun in D.A.D. syntax. A nominal characteristic that they all share is the fact that they have Case. See Chapter IV of Part I for a discussion of the Case assignment in D.A.D. See also Part II for a description of some of the basic subclasses of the Nominal Class.

ing constraint to supplement in the generation of the D.A.D. nominal sentence with an NP predicate.

1.1.1: The Nominal Sentence Constraint (N.S.C.)

If the predicate phrase of the nominal sentence is an NP and not a PP, then that NP may have a definite article only if the NP subject does not.

This constraint may be illustrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(a) /irrijaal rijaal/ The man is manly.

[+definite	[-definite
article]	article]
[+masc.]	[+masc.]
[+sing]	[sing]

(b) /irrijaal balwah/ The man is a catastrophe.

[+definite	[-definite
article]	article]
[+masc.]	[+fem.]
[+sing.]	[+sing.]

(c) /ilbanaat balawiyy/ Girls are catastrophes.

[+definite	[-definite
article]	article]
[+pl.]	[+pl.]
[+fem.]	

(d) /irrajajiil balawiyy/ Men are catastrophes.

[+definite	[-definite
article]	article]
[+pl.]	[+pl.]
[+masc.]	

(3)

(a) /Şindina ilŞirs/ We have the wedding.

[-definite [+definite
 article] article]
 [+definite][+definite]

(b) Şindihum innaas/¹ They have the people ie guests.

[-definite [+definite
 article] article]
 [+definite][+definite]

In accordance with the nominal sentence constraint, the NP predicate of sentences (2) does not have a definite article because its NP subject does have a definite article. As for the NP predicate in sentences (3), it does have a definite article but this is only possible because the NP subject does not have a definite article.

Sentences (3) also demonstrate that the syntactic feature [+definite article] is different from that of [+definite]. That is, both the NP predicate and its NP subject may be [+definite] but cannot be [+definite article]. As a matter of fact, if we have two nominals both of which have a definite article, then they con-

¹These sentences also illustrate that the NP predicate does not necessarily have to agree with its NP subject in number and gender. (See Chapter II, Part I for a discussion of some of the basic D.A.D. nominal sentence patterns).

stitute a phrasal construction, and not a sentential one. This is illustrated by the following:

(4) /irrijaal irrijaal/ The manly man.

[+definite [+definite
article] article]

Therefore, the D.A.D. nominal sentence constraint is applicable to the syntactic feature [+definite article], and not that of [+definite].

This difference between both features is demonstrated by the following definition of definiteness in D.A.D. syntax:

(5) Definiteness in D.A.D. Syntax:

Any nominal has the syntactic feature [+definite] if it has any of the following:

- (i) It has a definite article.
- (ii) It is a pronoun.
- (iii) It is a proper noun.
- (iv) It forms a nominal construct, which is a phrasal construct that has the second nominal holding a possessive relationship to the head nominal.¹

¹See pp. 175-7 and No. (6) for examples.

- (v) It is a nominal that is qualified by a restrictive clause.¹

Therefore, the syntactic feature [+definite] is a broader concept than that of [+definite article]. As a matter of fact, the former incorporates the latter.

Having defined definiteness in D.A.D. syntax, we note that the Nominal sentence constraint applies only to the syntactic feature [+definite article] and, accordingly, it does not constraint the NP subject and its NP predicate from their both being [+definite]. This has been demonstrated by sentences (3) and is also demonstrated by the following sentences:

(6)

- (a) /ilwalad waladih/ The boy is his son.

[+definite article][+definite]

- (b) /haada waladih/ This one (masc. sing) is his son.
[+definite][+definite]

The NP subject in these sentences is [+definite] because in (a) it has a definite article and in (b) it is a pronominal. The NP predicate is [+definite] because the

¹For example, the clause /?ams yoom šift irrijaal/ ie has the temporal nominal /?ams/, which acquires definiteness because it is qualified by the restrictive clause /yoom šift irrijaal/ [ie "Yesterday the day that I saw the men"]. See pp.561-74 of Part II for further discussion.

pronominal suffix carried by the nominal locally determines the generation of a possessive small pro, forming a nominal construct.¹

1.1.2: The NP subject constraint

Apart from the Nominal Sentence Constraint, the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence also subsumes to another constraint that requires its NP subject to be always [+definite]. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /halhiin --> bih hurmatin šeexah/

Now, there is a woman chief.

(b) */halhiin --> hurmatin šeexah/

Now, a woman is chief.

(c) /ʃindih hurmatin masriyyah/

He has a wife Egyptian.

(d) */hurmatin masriyyah marratih/

An Egyptian woman is his wife.

(e) /ilgatwah hayawan/

The cat is an animal.

(f) */gatwatin hayawan/

¹For further discussion, see pattern IV in Chapter II of Part I.

A cat is an animal.

Sentences (b), (d) and (f) are ill-formed because the NP subject is [-definite]. The indefiniteness of the NP subject is indicated by the /-in/ suffix carried by /hurmatin/, and /gatwatin/. On the other hand, sentences (a), (c) and (e) are well-formed because the NP subject is [+definite]. In sentence (a), we have /bih/, which is a definite nominal¹. In (c), we have /çindih/, which is also a definite nominal.² And in (e), we have /il-gatwah/, which is a noun that is introduced by a definite article. Therefore, the D.A.D. NP subject of a nominal sentence has to have the syntactic feature [+definite] as indicated by the NP subject constraint.³

The NP subject constraint also leads to the fact

¹For a discussion of /bih/ see pp.212-4 of chapter II of Part I.

²For a discussion of /çindih/ see pp.202-11 of Chapter II of Part I.

³It seems that this constraint is also applicable to the verbal sentences of D.A.D. but as this thesis is basically concerned with the Nominal sentence, nothing further will be said in this respect, especially as it requires further investigation on the D.A.D. verbal sentence.

that the following constructions are ill-formed as sentential configurations:.

(2)

a) /rijaalin rijaal/ A manly man

[-definite] [-definite]

b) /bintin bint/ An unmarried girl.

[-definite][-definite]

But they are not ill-formed as phrasal constructions; the fact which allows us to maintain that any two nominals both of which are [-definite] are phrasal, and not sentential in D.A.D. syntax. And the indefiniteness of the nominals in (7)(a) + (b) is indicated by the fact that they do not have any of the syntactic properties of (5) and have the presence of the suffix /-in/, which only appears in non-prepausal positions.

The above mentioned constraints (ie the Nominal Sentence Constraint and the NP subject Constraint) allow any two nominals to be regarded as a sentential configuration in D.A.D. syntax so long as they subsume to these constraints. If, on the other hand, they do not subsume to the Nominal Sentence Constraint, they are phrasal, and not sentential. And if the first nominal of these

two nominals is [-definite], then we also have a configuration that is ill-formed as a sentence but not as a phrase. Therefore, D.A.D. syntax not only has a nominal sentence in which there is no VP category, but also has constraints that regulate these nominals so as to generate a nominal sentence. In the following chapter, there is a description of the basic nominal sentence patterns, demonstrating how the above mentioned constraints are at work in the D.A.D. nominal sentence.

CHAPTER II

1.2: The Basic D.A.D. Nominal Sentence Patterns:

As pointed out earlier, the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. This means that the nominal sentence is one that has a PP or an NP as its predicate phrase. That is, the D.A.D. nominal sentence is of two basic patterns: one with a PP predicate and one with an NP predicate. And the nominal sentence with an NP predicate may be subdivided into eight other patterns, depending on the internal structure of its NP predicate and that of its NP subject. The first five patterns to be discussed exemplify a difference in the internal structure of the NP predicate while the last three patterns exemplify a difference in the internal structure of the NP subject. As for the nominal sentence with a PP predicate, examples of this pattern are cited after the discussion of the nominal sentence with an NP predicate. Therefore, there are nine patterns that the D.A.D. nominal sentence may be divided into and examples of each pattern are given in the following discussion, in which it also is shown that the NP subject always has the syntactic feature [+definite].

1.2.1: Pattern One: NP subject with a (pro) nominal as
head and an NP predicate with an Invariable
Nominal

Invariable nominals include comparative nominals and the words /waajid/ "much or many" and /ʕeer/ "different from ie unique".

The comparative nominal is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which it is generated as the head of the NP predicate:

(1)

(a) /ilbint ʔakbar/ The girl is bigger (older)

(b) /ilwalad ʔakbar/ The boy is bigger (older)

(c) /ilwalad ʔakbar min ilbint/

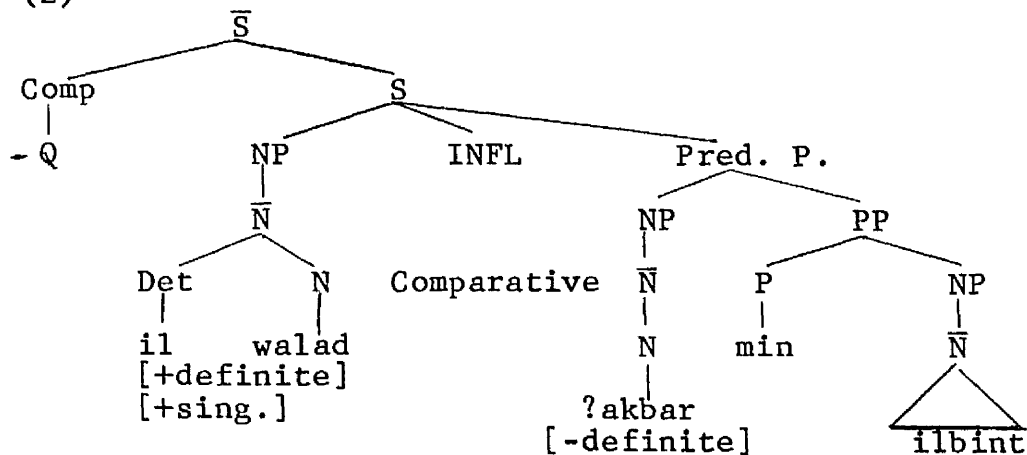
The boy is bigger than the girl.

(d) /ilbanaat ʔakbar/ The girls are bigger.

The nominal /ʔakbar/ has an invariable form because it does not inflect for number or gender if singular. Accordingly, it does not show concordial agreement with its NP subject, ie, in sentences (a) - (c) the NP subject is singular and in (d) it is plural but /ʔakbar/ has one invariable form. Sentence (c) also demonstrates that /ʔakbar/ is optionally followed by a PP ie /min ilbint/ "from the girl" that gives the compared with

item. This PP always has the preposition /min/. The following S-structure of sentence (c) demonstrates its internal structure, as an example of the nominal sentence with a comparative nominal as the head of its predicate phrase:

(2)

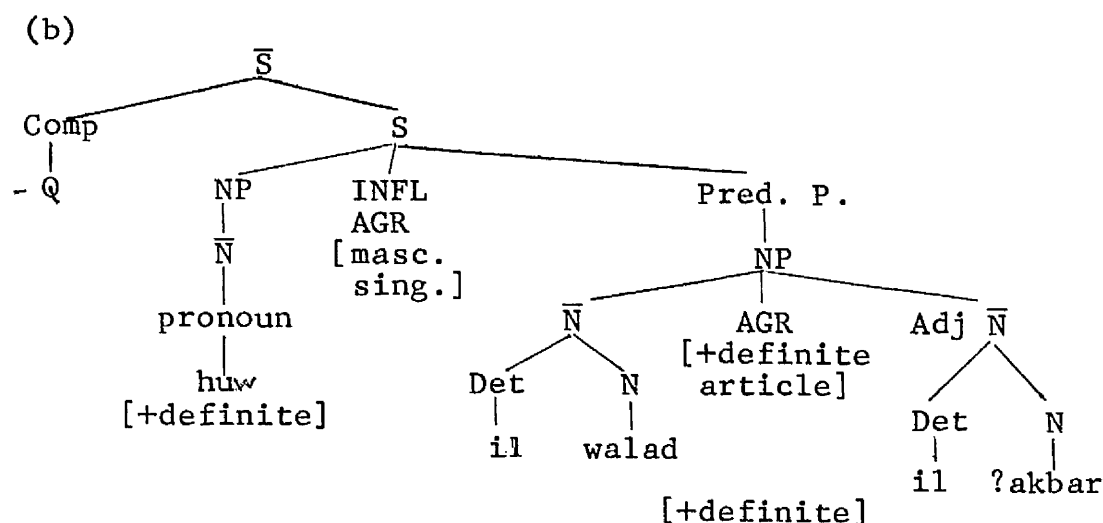


The fact that /?akbar/ is nevertheless a nominal despite its invariability of form is demonstrated by its capacity to inflect for definiteness by carrying a definite article. Such is the case when it is used adjectively and so it must agree with its head nominal in carrying a definite article even though it cannot agree with it in number or gender. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(3)

(a) /huw ilwalad il?akbar/

He is the older boy.



Being a comparative nominal, /?akbar/ cannot agree with its head nominal in gender or number because it does not inflect for gender or number, but as it is generated as an adjectival in the NP predicate, it inflects for definiteness in agreement with its head nominal.¹ It is in this respect that the comparative is a nominal in D.A.D. syntax even though it does not inflect for gender or number, and it maintains an invariable form when it is generated as the head of the NP predicate and characterizes this pattern of the D.A.D. nominal sentences.

¹See Chapter II, Part II, for a discussion of D.A.D. adjectives.

Another type of the invariable nominal is /waajid/, which is a predicate to a singular NP subject if the noun is a mass noun and to a plural NP subject if it is a count noun. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4)

(a) /ilmuyyah waajid/ The water is much.

[+singular] [invariable
[+mass noun] form]

(b) /ilbanaat waajid/ The girls are many ie There are

[+pl.] [invariable are many girls.
[+count] form]

(c) /irrajajiil waajid/ The men are many.

[+pl.] [invariable
[+count] form]

As with /?akbar/, /waajid/ does not inflect for number or gender. But it differs from a comparative nominal such as /?akbar/ in that it predicates only plural count nouns, and not singular count nouns. The nominal status of /waajid/, however, is indicated as with /?akbar/ on the basis of the fact that it inflects for definiteness. This is demonstrated by the following sentence:

(5) /innaas yihibbuun ilwaajid/

People love the much, the plenty.

In sentence (5) /ilwaajid/ is generated as the complement of the verb /yihibbuun/ and it carries a definite article, justifying its nominal status.

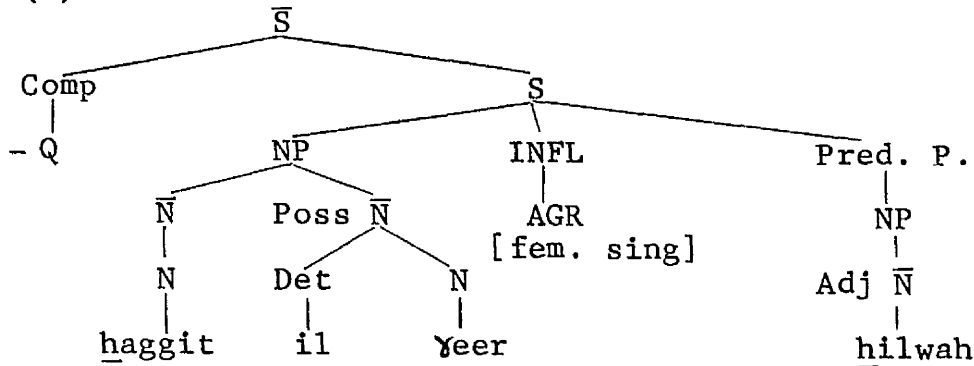
In a similar respect, the invariable /ʕeer/ is a nominal ie despite the fact that it does not inflect for number or gender, yet it inflects for definiteness by means of a definite article. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(6)

(a) /haggit ilʕeer hilwah/

Things belonging to others are nice.

(b)



But when /ʕeer/ predicates an NP subject with a mass noun, a plural count noun or a singular count noun, it characterizes pattern one of the D.A.D. nominal sentences and in such a case it does not inflect for defi-

niteness. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(7)

- (a) /nisaatum [↑]yeer/ Their cravings are different ie
 [+mass noun] The cravings of mothers bearing boys
 are different from those bearing
 girls.
- (b) /ilbanaat [↑]yeer/ Girls are different (from boys).
 [+pl. count noun]
- (c) /irrajajiil [↑]yeer/ Men are different.
 [+pl. count noun]
- (d) /irrijaal haa[↑]da yeer/ This man is different
 [sing. count noun] (ie distinguished)

As can be seen from the above mentioned sentences, /yeer/ maintains its invariable form which does not inflect for gender or number even though it can predicate a singular or a plural as well as a feminine or a masculine NP subject. Therefore, the nominal sentences of this pattern are characterized by a predicate that has an invariable nominal in the sense that it does not inflect for number or gender in agreement with its NP subject.

1.2.2: Pattern two: NP subject with a (pro) nominal as
its head and an NP predicate with an adjective as
its head.

The NP predicate in this pattern is an adjective and so it agrees with its NP subject in number and gender if it is singular. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /iddar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah hilwah/ Dar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyiah is pretty.

[+definite	[-definite
article]	article]
[+fem.	[+fem.
+sing]	+sing.]

(b) /inti hilwah/ You (fem. sing) are pretty.

[+definite]	[-definite]
[+fem.	[+fem.
+sing.]	+sing]

(c) /hum hilwiin/ They are pretty.

[+pl]	[+pl]
[+definite]	[-definite]

When the NP subject has a pronominal with common gender, for example, /?ana/ "I", the adjective takes its gender from the sex of the speaker. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(a) /ʔana hilwah/ I am pretty (fem. sing)

[common [+fem
gender +sing]
+sing]

(b) /ʔana hilw/ I am pretty (masc. sing).

[common [+masc.
gender +sing]
+sing]

Where the NP subject is inanimate plural, the agreement is different. Inanimate plural nouns give AGR the features [+singular] and [+feminine]; therefore, the NP predicate is feminine and singular in form. This is illustrated by the following sentences and the S-structure of the first sentence:

(3)

(a) /ilʔin ʕaam ittaamah hilwah/

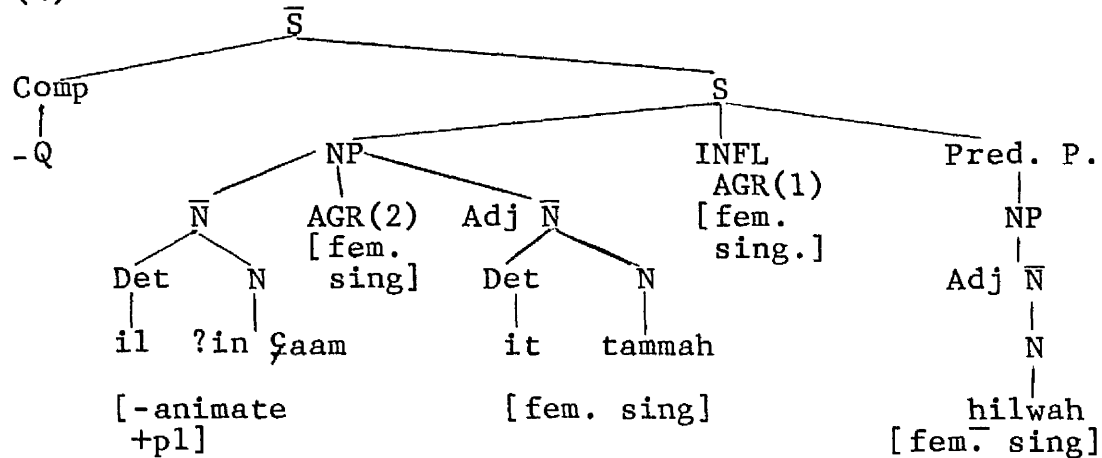
The luxury the complete is pretty ie nice.

Complete luxury is good.

(b) /ilʔin ʕaam hilwah/

Luxury is good or nice.

(4)



It is not only the adjective in the NP predicate but also the adjective qualifying the head nominal in the NP subject that has the features singular and feminine. This is because both AGR(1) and AGR(2) have these features.

1.2.3: Pattern three: NP subject with a (pro) nominal as its head and an NP predicate with an indefinite noun as its head

This pattern is characterized by its having an indefinite noun as the head of its NP predicate. It includes nouns of occupation as the head of the NP predicate; in which case there is agreement in number and in gender in both the singular and the plural forms. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /ilbint mudarrisah/ The girl is a teacher.

[+definite	[-definite]
article]	[+sing
[+sing	+fem]
+fem]	

(b) /irrijaal mudarris/ The man is a teacher

[+definite	[-definite]
article]	[+sing.
[+sing.	+masc]
+masc]	

(c) /ilbanaat mudarrisaat/

[+definite	[-definite]
article]	[+pl.
[+pl.	+fem]
+fem]	

(d) /irrajajiil mudarrisiin/

[+definite	[-definite]
article]	[+pl
[+pl	[+masc]
+masc]	

Nouns of occupation have masculine and feminine forms in the plural as well as in the singular. The suffix /-aat/ is the feminine plural whereas /-iin/ is the masculine plural. In the singular, the suffix /-ah/ is the feminine form, as shown by (a).

This pattern also includes nouns that are not nouns of occupation and in such cases they only inflect for

number in agreement with the NP subject. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(a) /iddarṣiyyah maṣaan/ Darṣiyyah is a place.

[+fem.	[+masc.
+sing.	+sing.
+definite	[-definite]
article]	

(b) /ilbint rijaal/ The girl is a man ie The girl has manly qualities.

[+fem.	[+masc.
+sing.	+sing.
+definite	-definite]
article]	

The NP predicate in the above mentioned sentences agrees with its NP subject in number but not in gender or in definiteness.

The fact that the NP predicate of this pattern must agree with its NP subject in number is illustrated by the following ill-formed sentences, in which there is no agreement in number between the noun in NP predicate and its NP subject.

(3)

(a) */iddarṣiyyah ?amaaṣin/ Darṣiyyah is places.

[+sing]	[+pl]
---------	-------

(b) */ilbint balawiyy/ The girl is catastrophes.

[+sing]	[+pl]
---------	-------

Furthermore, the noun generated as the the head of the NP predicate characterizing this pattern is not simply [-definite] but more specifically an indefinite noun. This becomes formally manifested if the head of this NP predicate is not in a prepausal position because in such a case it carries the indefinite marker /-in/. This is illustrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(4)

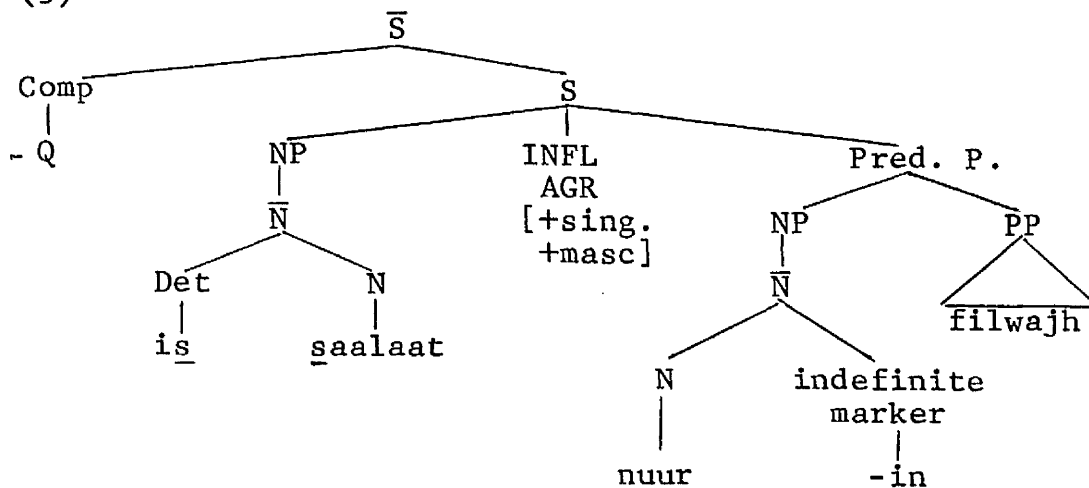
(a) /issalaat nuurin filwajh/

Praying is light in the face.

(b) /issalaat rizgin lilinsaan/

Praying is the provider for mankind.

(5)



Therefore, the head of the NP predicate of this pattern is a nominal that is indefinite and this indefiniteness is formally manifested when it is not in a prepausal position. And it is its indefiniteness that differentiates it from the NP predicate of pattern (4), which has the syntactic feature [+definite].

1.2.4: Pattern Four: NP subject with a (pro) nominal as its head and an NP predicate that has a nominal construct.

This pattern is characterized by its having an NP predicate, which has a nominal construct. In a nominal construct the (pro) nominals are not coreferential and each is in a possessive relationship to the one that precedes.¹ Sentences of this pattern are illustrated by the following:

(1)

(a) /haaʕi binayyit binayyiti/

This (fem. sing) is the daughter of my daughter.

(b) /ilbint bintih/

The girl is his daughter.

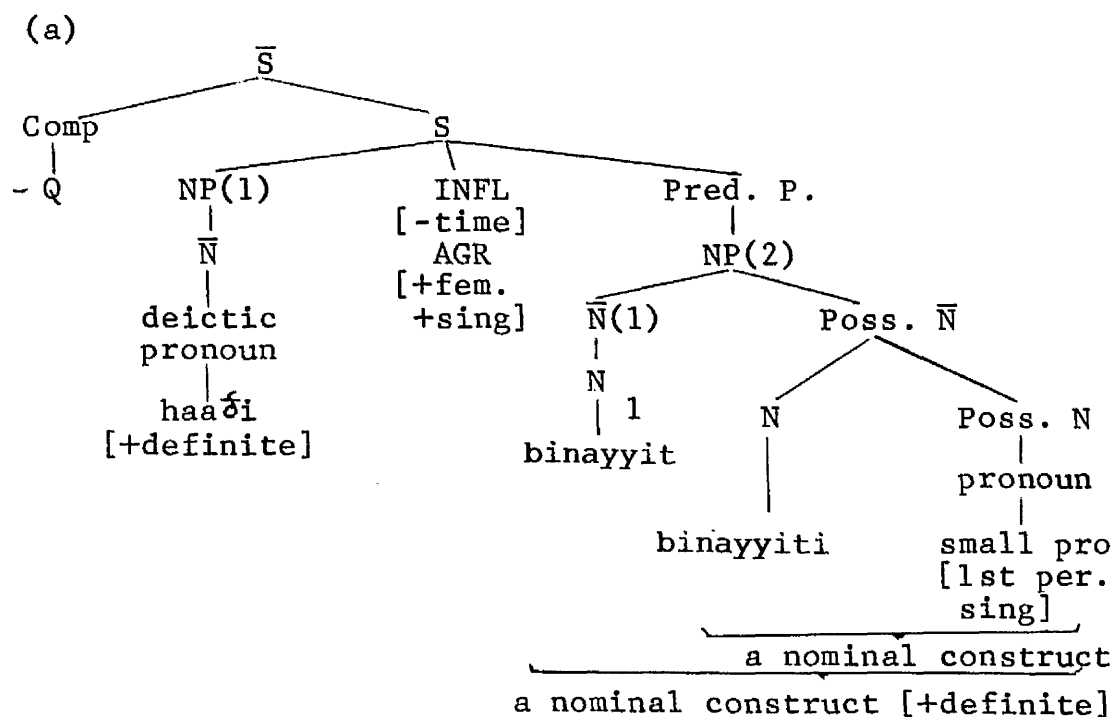
¹This definition is taken from lectures on "The Structure of the Noun Phrase in Arabic" by B. Ingham, SOAS, University of London.

(c) /huw ?ibin ?axuuy/

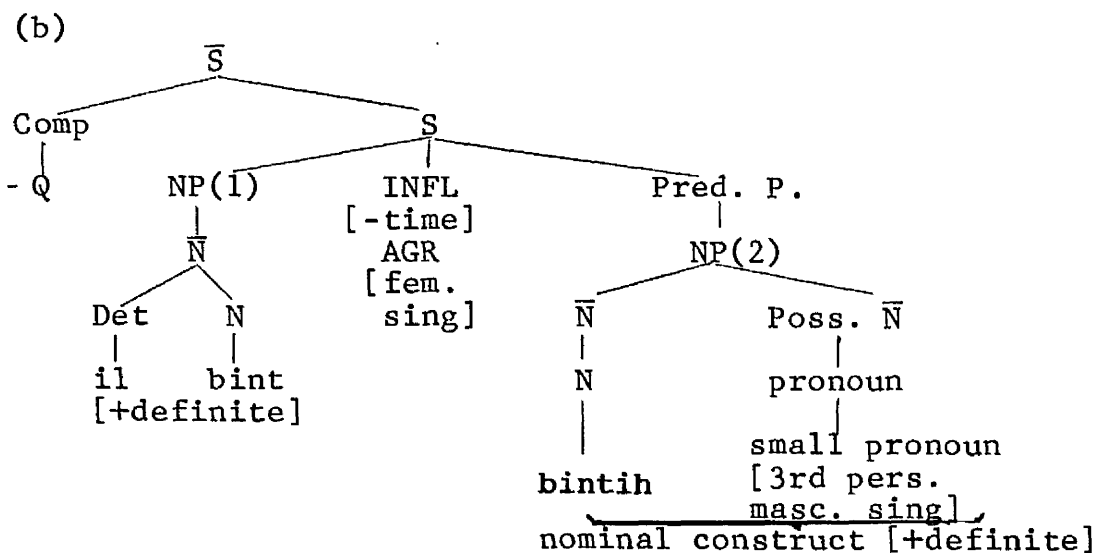
He is the son of my brother.

That the NP predicate of the above sentences has a nominal construct as its internal structure is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (a) + (b).

(2)



¹/binayyit/ is the diminutive form of /bint/. The diminutive form is used for endearment. See Chapter I, Part II, for further discussion on the diminutive form in D.A.D.



$\text{NP}(2)$ in S-structure (2)(b) is $[+definite]$ because its head nominal has a possessive pronominal suffix, which generates a possessive small pro forming a nominal construct. $\text{NP}(2)$ in S-structure (2)(a) is also $[+definite]$ because we have the nominals /binayyit binayyiti/ forming a nominal construct ie $\bar{N}(2)$ holds a possessive relation with $\bar{N}(1)$ and $\bar{N}(2)$ itself is a nominal construct because it has a possessive pronominal.

The nominal construct may also have the internal structure in which the possessive nominal has a definite article. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(3)

(a) /haaʔa dihin ilbaʕariin/

This (masc. sing) is the fat of the camels.

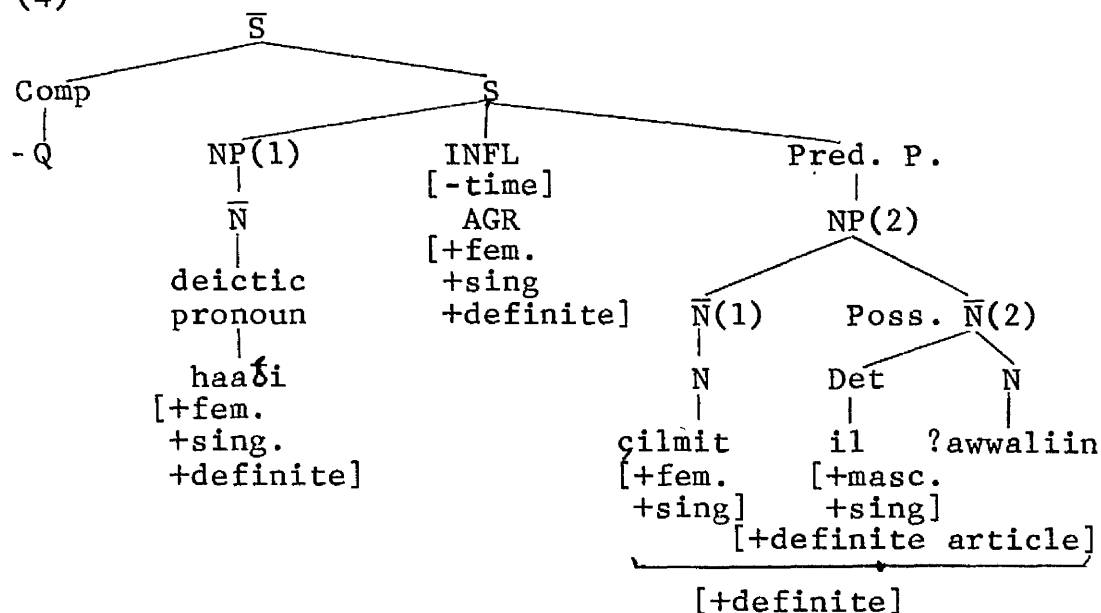
(b) /haaʔi ɕilmit ilʔawwaliin/

This (fem. sing) is the word of the first people.

This is the language of the old generation.

The possessive nominal has a definite article and together with the head of the NP predicate it forms a nominal construct. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence 3(b).

(4)



S-structure (4) also demonstrates that it is the head of the NP predicate that agrees with the NP subject in number and gender if singular. That is, $\bar{N}(1)$ is femi-

nine and singular because its NP subject is feminine and singular. This is because $\bar{N}(1)$ is the head of NP(2). As for the definite article, it is carried by the possessive nominal ie /il ʔawwaliin/, and not by the head of NP predicate. Altogether, NP(2) is [+definite] because it is composed of a nominal construct. Therefore, the NP subject and its NP predicate characterizing this pattern of D.A.D. nominal sentences both have the syntactic feature [+definite].

1.2.5: Pattern Five: NP subject with a (pro) nominal and an NP predicate with a participle as its head

This pattern has a participle¹ as the head of the NP predicate. This may be illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /ʔumayyiti ʃaaditin binayyitiʃ/

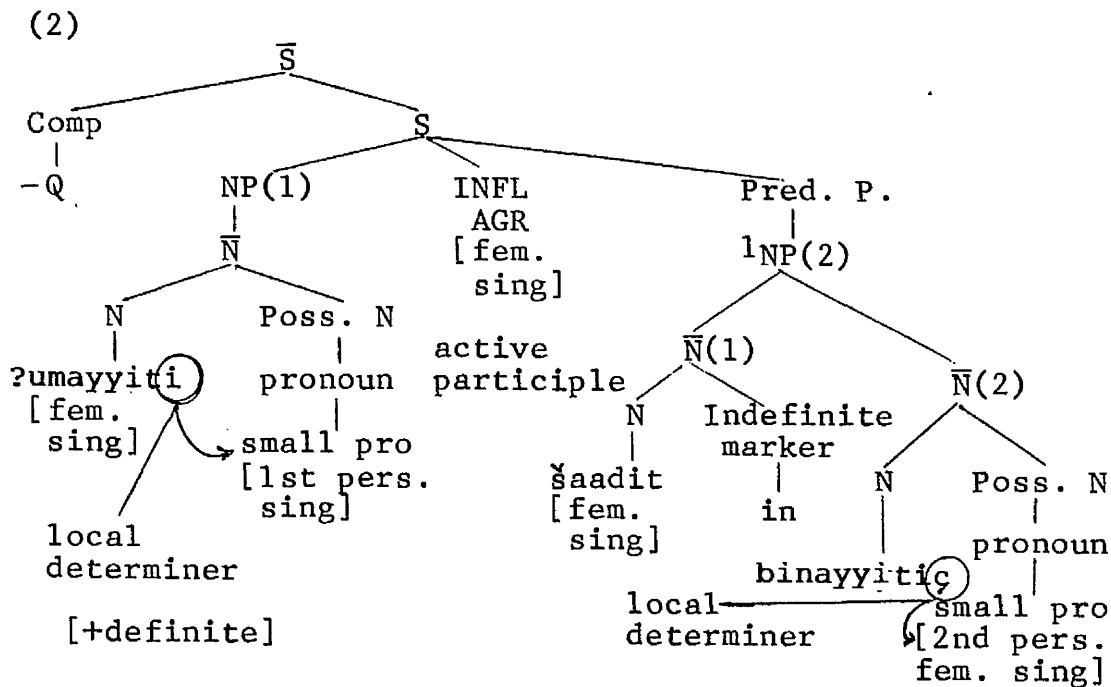
My dear little mother taking care of your dear	
little daughter	(fem.sing)

(b) /hiy mirʃiitin rijaalha/

She is pleasant to her husband.

¹For a discussion of the nominal characteristics of D.A.D. participles, see Chapter III of Part II.

The head of NP predicate in sentence (1)(a) is the active participle /šaaditin/. It agrees with its NP subject in number and is singular in gender. It also carries the nominal inflection /-in/, which indicates indefiniteness. Similarly, the passive participle in (b) agrees with its NP subject in number and is singular in gender. It is the head of the NP predicate and also carries the indefinite marker /-in/, as shown by /mir-šiitin/. These properties are demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(a).



With an NP predicate with a participle as its head, it is the participle that agrees with the NP subject in number and in gender if it is singular in form. As for the non-head nominal in NP(2), it does not agree with the NP subject.

¹The θ marking of NP(1) is "that which is identified" and it is assigned by the NP predicate. The NP predicate is assigned the θ role "identifier" by AGR and it percolates to the head of this NP ie the participle. N(2) is assigned the θ role "patient" by its head ie the participle. One of the verbal characteristics of the participle is that it assigns its complement the θ role "patient". See Chapter III of Part II for further discussion on the participles in D.A.D.

1.2.6: Pattern Six: NP subect with /çind+pronominal suffix/ or /li+pronominal suffix/ and an NP predicate with a noun as its head

This pattern is characterized by its having /çind + pronominal suffix/ or /li+pronominal suffix/ as its NP subject. Both /çind+pronominal suffix/ and /li+pronominal suffix/ are nominals because they inflect for possession ie they are associated with the Nominal Set of Pronominal suffixes. They are, however, unique in that they do not inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, number or gender. They are, accordingly, regarded as characterizing a certain pattern of the D.A.D. Nominal sentences; in which case they are generated as the NP subject. The following sentences are examples of /çind + pronominal suffix/, generated as NP subject:

(1)

- (a) /çindih beet/ His possession is a house.
- (b) /çindaha beet/ Her possession is a house.
- (c) /çindi beet/ My possession is a house.
- (d) /çindihum beet/ Their possession is a house.

(2)

- (a) /çindiç binti/ Your (fem. sing) possession is my daughter.

(b) / ζ indik bintih/ Your (masc. sing) possession is his daughter.

(c) / ζ indina bintina/ Our possession is our daughter.

(d) / ζ indikum bintaha/ Your (pl.) possession is her daughter.

(3)

(a) / ζ indih ilgatw \bar{a} h/

His possession is the cat.

(b) / ζ indi -lbanaat/

My possession is the girls.

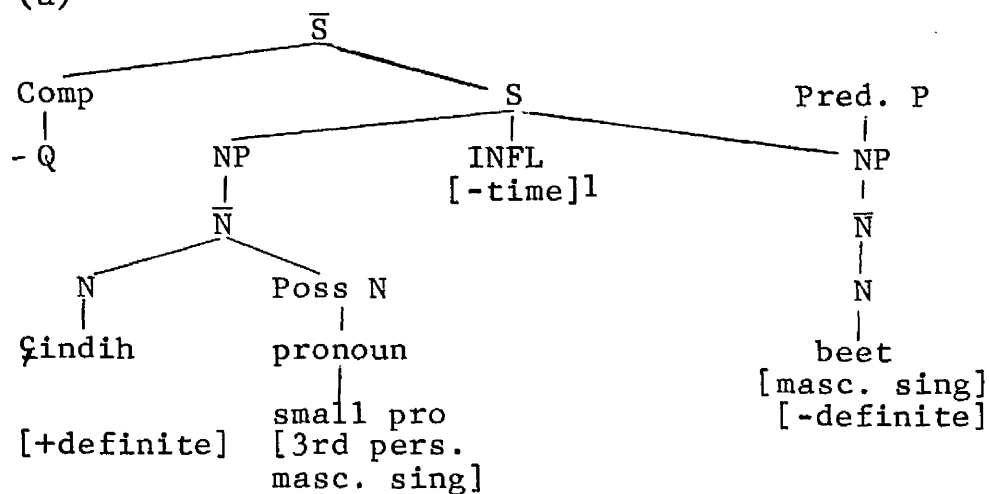
(c) / ζ indihum il?awlaad/

Their possession is the boys.

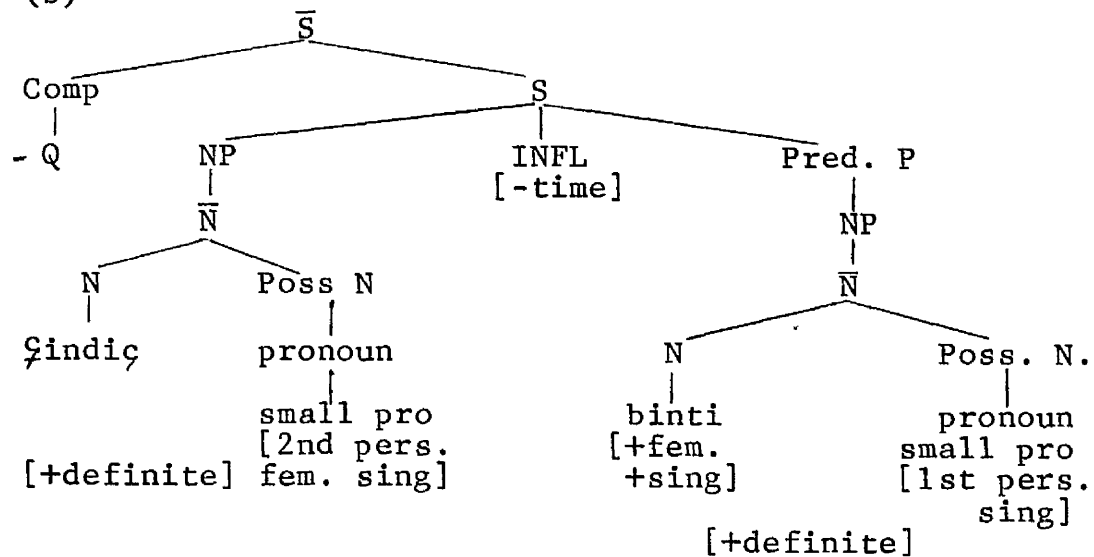
Sentences (1) illustrate that / ζ ind+pronominal suffix/ is generated as the NP subject and that the NP predicate is an indefinite noun. In sentences (2), it is generated as NP subject while the NP predicate is a definite noun because it inflects for possession. In sentences (3), / ζ ind+pronominal suffix/ is generated as NP subject while the NP predicate is a noun that carries a definite article. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (a) of the above mentioned examples:

(4)

(a)

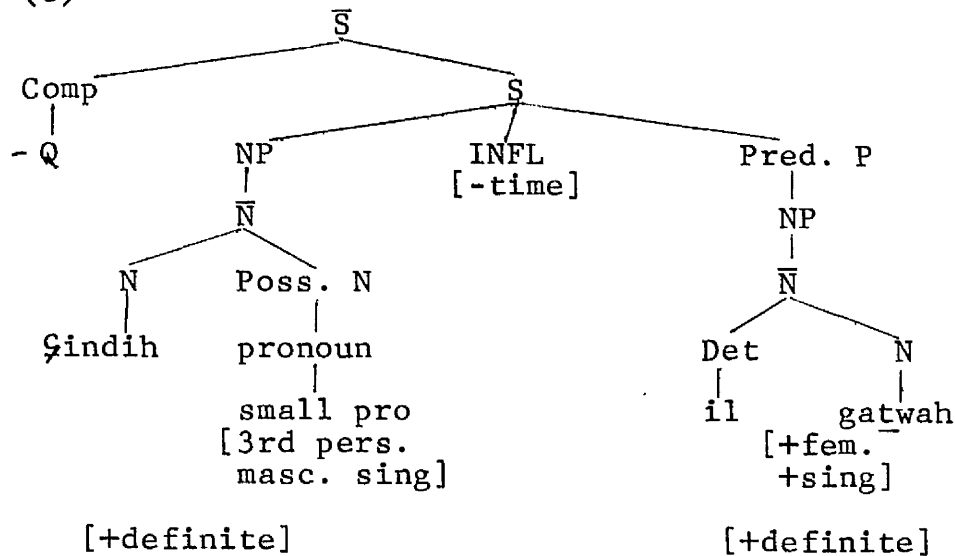


(b)



¹See pp. 250-7 of Chapter III of Part I for a discussion of INFL in D.A.D. syntax.

(c)



These S-structures also demonstrate that /çind/ inflects for possession; and therefore it is a nominal since it behaves as a noun. This similarity between /çind/ and nouns is particularly demonstrated by S-structure (b) since both /çind/ and the noun /bint/ are shown to inflect for possession.

However, as /çind/ differs from nouns in that it does not have gender and does not inflect for number, definiteness and indefiniteness, it is unique and, accordingly, its generation as the NP subject characterizes this pattern of nominal sentences, which in turn does not have AGR.

Another syntactic property of / ζ ind/ that demonstrates that it is a nominal, and not a preposition, is indicated by the fact that it may be introduced by a preposition. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(5)

(a) /?ajiib ilfiluus min ζ indi/

I am bringing the money from my possession.

(b) /jaab ilfiluus min ζ indih/

He brought the money from his possession.

(c) */jaab ilfiluus min fiini/

He brought the money from in me.

Being a nominal, / ζ indi+pronominal suffix/ may be introduced by a preposition ie /min/ in sentences (5). As for /fiini/, it cannot be introduced by a preposition because it is itself a preposition.

Apart from being distinguished from the nominal on the basis of the fact that it cannot be introduced by another preposition, a preposition in D.A.D. is associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes. The following is a list of the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, carried by a preposition, in comparison with

the nominal set of pronominal suffixes, carried by /ʕind/ and /bint/, both of which are nominals.

(6) <u>Verbal set</u>	<u>Nominal set</u>	
	(A)	(B)
/fiɪni/ in me	/ʕindi/ my possession	/beeti/ my house
/fiɪna/ in us	/ʕindiɪna/ our possession	/beetiɪna/ our house
/fiɪh/ in him	/ʕindiɪh/ his possession	/beetiɪh/ his house
/fiɪha/ in her	/ʕindaɪha/ her possession	/beetiɪha/ her house
/fiɪhum/ in them	/ʕindiɪhum/ their possession	/beetiɪhum/ their house
/fiɪk/ in you (masc. sing)	/ʕindiɪk/ your possession	/beetiɪk/ your house
/fiɪʕ/ in your (fem. sing)	/ʕindiɪʕ/ your poss. your possession	/beetiɪʕ/ your house
/fiɪkum/ in you (pl)	/ʕindiɪkum/ your possession	/beetiɪkum/ your house

As indicated by the above list, the set of the verbal pronominal suffixes differs from that of the nominal pronominal suffixes in the form of the suffix

for first person and singular features. That is, all the forms are identical except for the suffix for first person and singular features. However, they differ in function because the nominal set is the local determiner for a possessive small pro whereas the verbal set is the local determiner for a complement small. Therefore, /ʒind + pronominal suffix/ is also a nominal because it is associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes, which indicates that it inflects for possession.

In a similar respect, /li + pronominal suffix/ is also a nominal because it is associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes ie it inflects for possession. However, it differs from /ʒind + pronominal suffix/ in that it may not be introduced by a preposition. That it is associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes and may be generated as NP subject, characterizing this pattern of nominal sentences, is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structures:

(7)

- (a) /lih beet/ His possession is a house.
- (b) /liha beet/ Her possession is a house.
- (c) /liy beet/ My possession is a house.

(8)

(a) /liç waladi/ Your (fem sing) possession is my son.

(b) /lik binti/ Your (masc. sing) possession is my daughter.

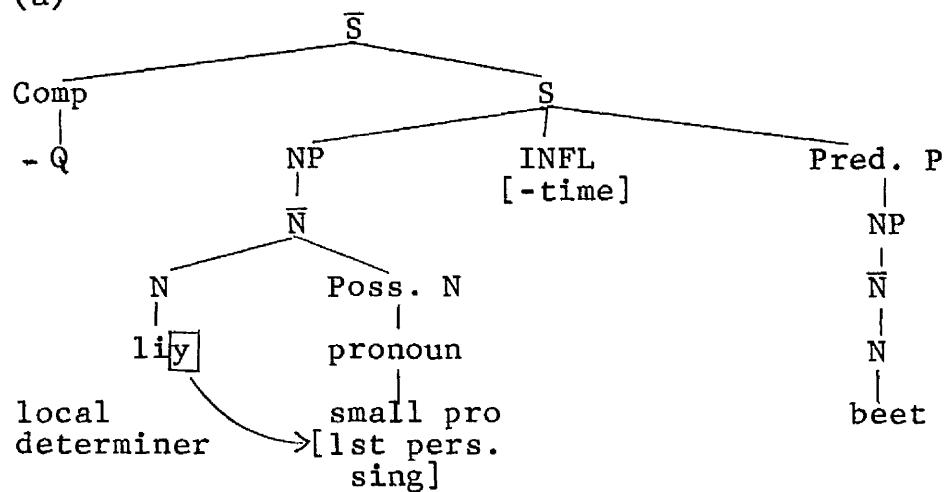
(9)

(a) /lih ilgatwah/ His possession is the cat.

(b) /lihum ilgatwah/ Their possession is the cat.

(10)

(a)



[+definite]

subject, it characterizes this pattern of the D.A.D.
nominal sentence.

1.2.7: Pattern Seven: NP subject with /fih/ or /bih/ and
NP predicate with a noun as its head

This pattern is characterized by its having the nominals /fih/ or /bih/ as its NP subject. Both /bih/ and /fih/ are regarded as nominals on the analogy of the nominals /çind + pronominal suffix/ and /li + pronominal suffix/, ie, they are nominals whose internal structure has a pronominal suffix and which are restricted in their syntactic distribution to that of NP subject. The nominal status of /bih/ and /fih/ is also indicated by the fact that they differ from the prepositions /bihi/ and /fihi/. That is, the prepositions have a long /i/ whereas the nominals have a short /i/.¹

The nominals /fih/ and /bih/ characterize the seventh pattern of the D.A.D. nominal sentences because they differ from /çind + pronominal suffix/ and /li + pronominal suffix/ in that they have invariable forms in which the pronominal suffix /-h/ has become part of their lexical composition. They also differ from /çind + pronominal suffix/ and /li + pronominal suffix/ in that they do not allow their NP predicate to have a noun

¹Accordingly, the preposition conveys internal location whereas the nominal indicates "existence," as is demonstrated by the following sentences.

introduced by a definite article. The following sentences provide examples of this pattern:

(1)

(a) / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ beet/ There is a house.

(b) / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ gatwah/ There is a cat.

(c) / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ naas/ There are people.

(2)

(a) / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ binti/ There is my daughter.

(b) / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ beetha/ There is her house.

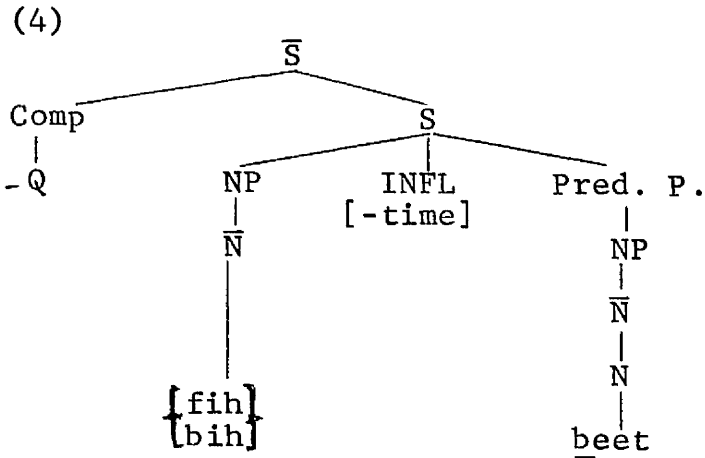
(3)

(a) /* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ ilbeet/

(b) /* $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{fih} \\ \text{bih} \end{Bmatrix}$ ilbint/

Sentences (3) are ill-formed because the NP predicate has a noun with a definite article. As for sentences (1) and (2), they are well-formed and demonstrate that /fih/ and /bih/ have invariable forms that do not have gender and do not inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, and possession. They just have a fossilized pronominal suffix that has become part of their lexical

composition. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure:



Nominal sentences with /fih/ or /bih/ as NP subject also do not have AGR because they have no gender or number denotation. Such nominal sentences are also characterized by their having a NP predicate with an indefinite noun or a noun that inflects for possession but not with a noun that is introduced by a definite article, as demonstrated by sentences (1), (2) and (3).

1.2.8: Pattern Eight: NP subject with a temporal nominal and NP predicate with a noun or an adjective as its head

This pattern is characterized by its having an NP subject that has a temporal nominal as its head since temporal nominals form a separate subclass in the gen-

eral class for D.A.D. nominals. This is due to the fact that they differ from nouns in their syntactic behaviour and this may be demonstrated by the fact that the temporal nominals that characterize this pattern of D.A.D. nominal sentences have definite articles that have been fossilized to become part of their lexical composition. For example, the definite article carried by /issubih/ "the morning", /i~~ss~~hur/ "the noon", /halhiin/ "now" is part of their lexical composition so that its deletion leads to */subih/, */~~s~~uhur/, */hiin/; all of which are not lexical items in the D.A.D. lexicon. On the other hand, a noun that designates time may be with or without a definite article because it has the syntactic behaviour of a noun, eg. /illeel/ "the night" and /leel/ "night"¹ ie it does not have a fossilized definite article. It, therefore, is due to such structural differences that the generation of the temporal nominal as the NP subject of nominal sentences has been regarded as characterizing a distinct pattern.

The following sentences provide examples of this pattern:

¹For further discussion on the difference between a temporal nominal and a noun see Chapter III, pp.224-243 and Chapter IV, Part II, pp. 450-475.

(1)

(a) /issubih hilw/ The morning is nice.

[+masc.	[+masc.
+sing]	+sing]

(b) /iffuhurr šeen/ The noon is bad.

[+ masc.	[+masc.
+sing]	+sing]

(c) /ilçasir harr/ The afternoon is hot.

[+masc.	[+masc.
+sing]	+sing]

(d) /ilçiša barad/ The dusk time is cold.

[+masc.	[+masc.
+sing]	+sing]

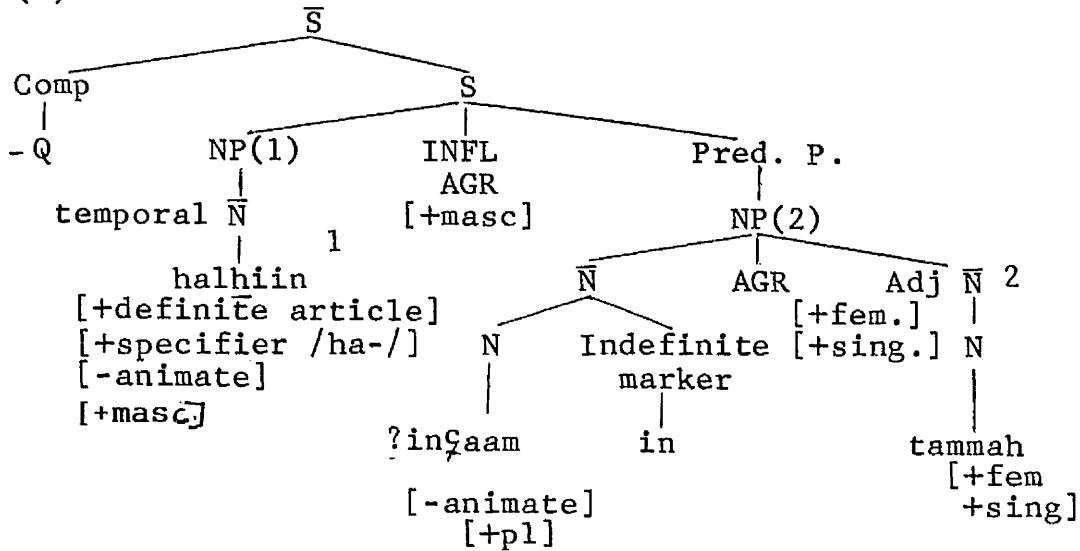
(e) /halhiin ?in şaamin tammah/

[+masc.	[+pl.	[+fem.
+sing]	-animate	+sing]

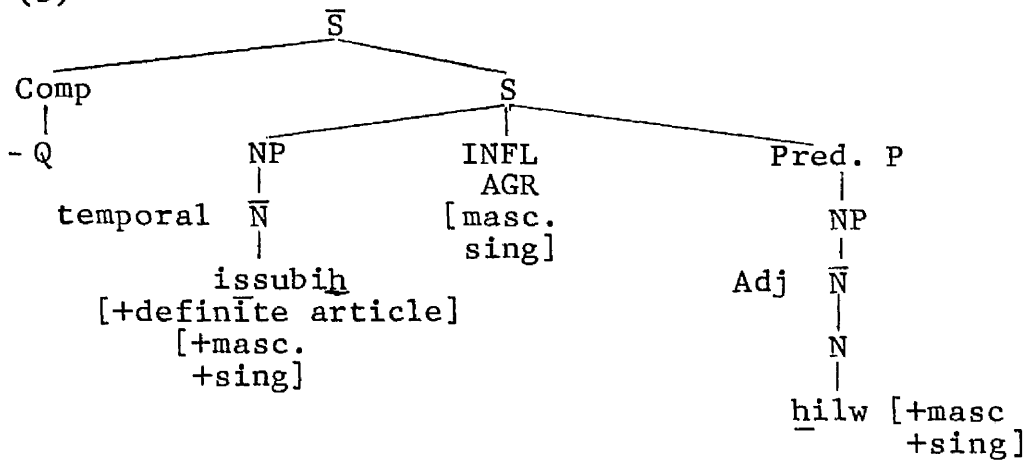
Taking sentences (1)(a) + (e) as examples, we have the following S-structures:

(2)

(a)



(b)



¹For a lengthier discussion of some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals, see Chapter III of Part I and Chapter IV of Part II.

²For a discussion of D.A.D. adjectives see Chapter II of Part II.

As shown by S-structures (2), the NP predicate of a D.A.D. nominal sentence with a temporal nominal as its subject may be a noun or an adjective. When it is an adjective, it must agree with its NP subject in number and in gender if it is singular, as illustrated by S-structure (2)(b). On the other hand, when it is a noun (as illustrated by S-structure (2)(a)), it does not have to agree in number and gender with its NP subject, which has a temporal nominal ie /halhiin/. But as it is a noun that is generated as the head of the predicate phrase in a non-prepausal position, it inflects for indefiniteness ie /?in ṣaamin/.¹

S-structures (a) + (b) also demonstrate that there may be overlapping as regards the patterns ie both sentences belong to pattern eight because they have a temporal nominal as the NP subject but (a) also belongs to pattern III because its NP predicate has an indefinite noun and (b) belongs to pattern two because its NP predicate has an adjective.

¹See pattern three of the D.A.D. nominal sentences.

1.2.9: Pattern Nine: NP subject with a (pro) nominal and
a predicate phrase that is a $\bar{P}P$

This pattern is characterized by its having a PP as its predicate phrase. It is regarded as a nominal sentence in the sense that it does not have a VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. The following sentences are examples of this pattern:

(1)

(a) /ilbint min iddar ζ iyyah/

The girl is from Dar ζ iyyah.

(b) /ilbint filbeet/

The girl is in the house.

(c) /ilwalad filbarr/

The boy is in the field.

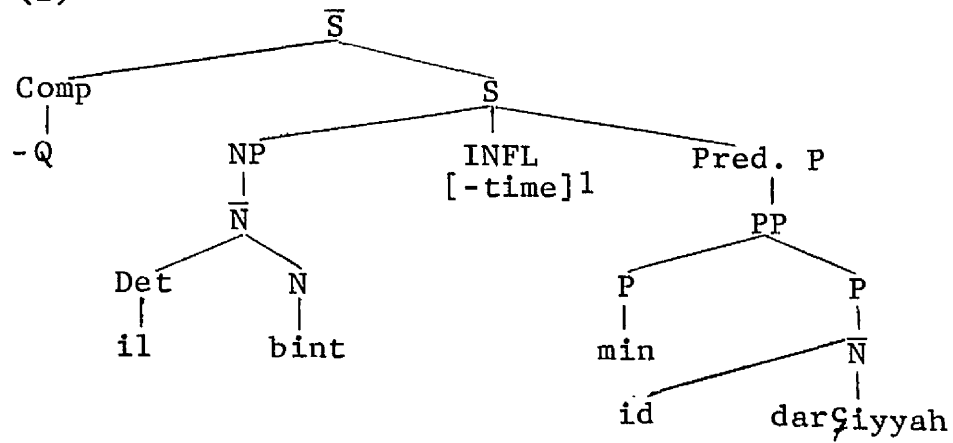
(d) /ilbint lilbeet/

The girl is for the house.

The internal structure of this type of nominal sentence is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence

(1)(a):

(2)



9

¹See Chapter III of Part I for a discussion of INFL in D.A.D. sentences.

CHAPTER III

1.3: How Time Is Indicated in the D.A.D. Sentence

For a discussion of time indication in the D.A.D. sentence, we must discuss the time reference in the nominal sentence separately from that in the verbal sentence. This is because time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is indicated in a different way from that of the verbal sentence. We will discuss the indication of time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence first because it is the nominal sentence with which this thesis is basically concerned; and in such a discussion it will be shown that time is indicated in the D.A.D. nominal sentence by a category other than that of the VP, verifying that there is no need for the assumption that the nominal sentence has a VP at LF. Then we will proceed to a discussion of the indication of time in the verbal sentence.

1.3.1: How the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence Indicates Time

All of the above mentioned patterns of nominal sentences have the same syntactic behaviour as regards time indication. That is, the time reference of the D.A.D. nominal sentence may be indicated by the genera-

tion of a temporal in its Comp. or by a temporal in the Comp. of a sentence in its previous discourse. We will first discuss the generation of a temporal in its Comp. and proceed to discuss the time indication of a nominal sentence whose time reference is determined by its previous discourse.

1.3.1.1: The D.A.D. Nominal Sentence with a Temporal in its Comp.

When a temporal is generated in Comp. of a nominal sentence, it governs the time reference of the S node it introduces and this time government of S node is recorded in INFL because INFL is the head of S node. There are four different types of temporals in D.A.D. syntax. These are:

- (1) (a) temporal nominals.
- (b) temporal nominal constructs.
- (c) temporal PPs.
- (d) temporal clauses.

Despite the fact that we have different types of temporals, yet they all have the same function in relation to the S node they introduce ie they govern its time reference and, therefore, should be assigned the θ role "temporal". But for an element to be visible at

LF, it must have Case. And as it is only an NP that is assigned Case, it is maintained that all four types of temporals are dominated by an NP.¹

The assumption that all types of temporals are dominated by an NP is verified by the fact that some time expressions in D.A.D. are actually nominals that are called "temporal nominals." Being nominals, these time expressions are, naturally, the lexical head of the NP category. Another group of time expressions has the syntactic structure of a nominal construct, which is also dominated by an NP category. Therefore, two of the four types of temporals in D.A.D. are actually nominals and are naturally dominated by the NP category. As for the other two types ie the temporal PP and the temporal clause, they have been assumed to be dominated by an NP for the sake of proper θ marking since they have the same function as the other two types of temporals in relation to the S node they introduce.

In the following discussion, each type of temporal will be dealt with separately, showing how it exercises time government on the S node it introduces.

¹See the introduction of Chapter IV, Part II for further discussion on the temporals in D.A.D.

1.3.1.1.1: Time government by a temporal nominal

The temporal nominals represent one of the subclasses in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. syntax because they exemplify some of the syntactic properties of the D.A.D. noun; for example, some temporal nominals have a definite article; some others inflect for possession and some others are introduced by a preposition. It is in this respect that the time expressions in D.A.D. are regarded as pertaining to the NP category and are called "Temporal NPs."

However, as the definite article and the preposition introducing the temporal nominals are fossilized parts of their lexical composition, the temporal nominals cannot be said to inflect for definiteness and in such a case differ from nouns, which inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession, and number. Accordingly, temporal nominals may be described as nominals that do not inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, number or gender but some of whose members have fossilized definite articles; some other members have

fossilized prepositions and some other members inflect for possession.¹

Apart from not having the full inflectional paradigm of the noun, the temporal nominal also differs from the noun in that it has a much more restricted syntactic distribution than that of the noun. The A-position all temporal nominals are generated in is that of Comp, in which they exercise time government on the S node they introduce. This is illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures, which demonstrate that any of the above mentioned patterns of nominal sentences may have a temporal nominal generated in its Comp.

(1)

(a)

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (i) | { min ?awwal
(from first) | } The water used to be much. |
| / (ii) | { halhiin
(now) | |
| (iii) | { min baacir
(from tomorrow) | |
- ilmuyyah waajid/ Now, the water is much.
- The water will be much.

¹Discussion of the basic members of the temporal nominal subclass of nominals is in Chapter IV, Part II.

(b)

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) | { min ?awwal } | The girl used to be a teacher. |
| / (ii) | { halhiin } | -ilbint mudarrisah/ Now, the girl is |
| | | a teacher. |
| (iii) | { min baaçir } | The girl will be a teacher. |

(c)

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | { min ?awwal } | My mother used to take care of your |
| | | daughter. |
| / (ii) | { halhiin } | ?ummi šaaditin bintiç/ Now, my mother |
| | | taking care of your (fem. sing) |
| | | daughter. |
| (iii) | { min baaçir } | Tomorrow, my mother will take care of |
| | | your daughter. |

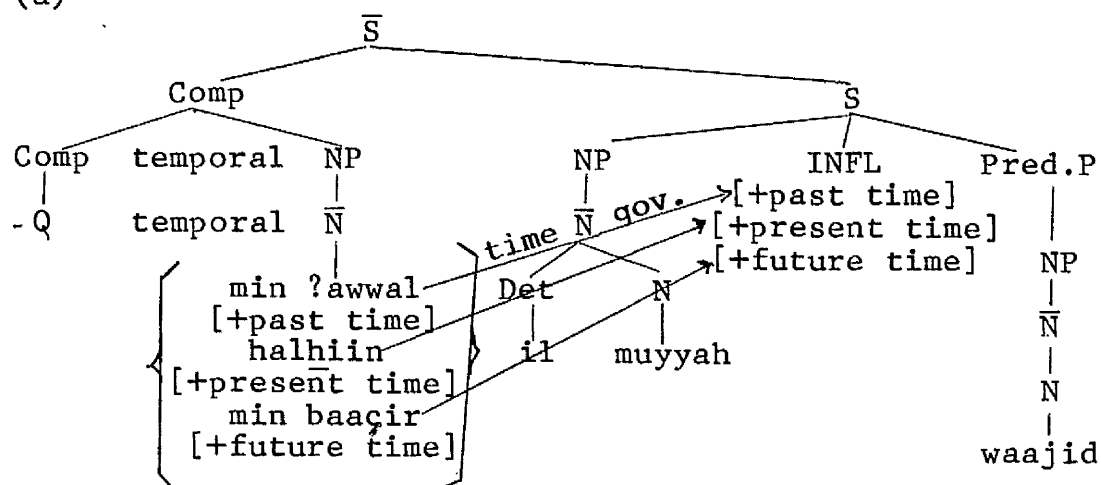
(d)

- | | | |
|--------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| (i) | { min ?awwal } | The boy used to be in the field. |
| / (ii) | { halhiin } | -ilwalad filbarr/ Now, the boy is in |
| | | the field. |
| (iii) | { min baaçir } | The boy will be in the field. |

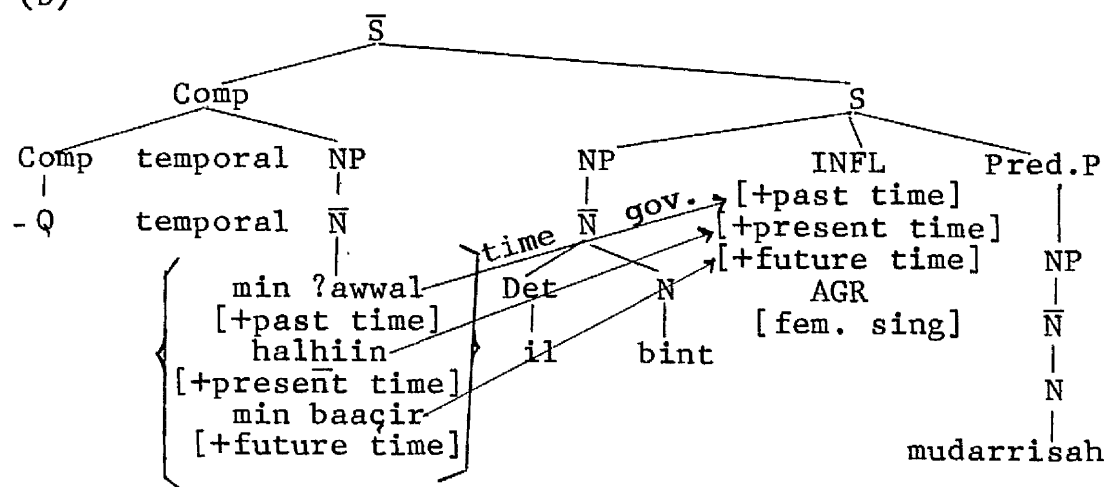
Taking sentences (a), (b) and (d) as examples, we have the following S-structures, in which it is shown that the temporal nominal exercises time government on the S node it introduces.

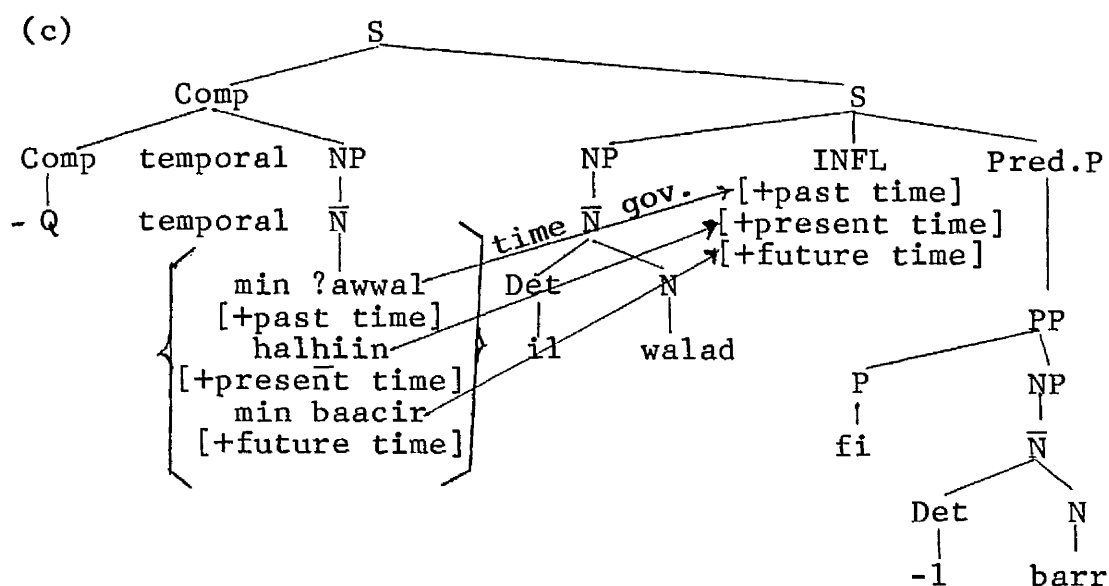
(2)

(a)



(b)





As S-structures (a), (b) and (c) illustrate, the time reference [+past] is recorded in INFL when the temporal nominal /min ?awwal/ is generated in the Comp. of any of the above mentioned patterns of nominal sentences. And when /halhiin/ is generated in Comp. of any of the above mentioned nominal sentences, the time reference [+present] is recorded in their INFL. As for the temporal nominal /min baacir/, it makes these sentences acquire futurity and so the time reference [+future] is recorded in their INFL. That is, all these temporal nominals are generated in the Comp. A-position of D.A.D. nominal sentences for the determination of their time reference. The above mentioned temporal nominals, however, are by no means all the members of

this subclass of D.A.D. nominals called "Temporal Nominals."¹

When a temporal nominal is generated in the Comp. A-position of a D.A.D. nominal sentence, it exercises Time government on the S node it introduces. This is due to the fact that Comp. is the head of \bar{S} and as the temporal is generated in Comp. then it is also the head of \bar{S} and accordingly, S node is its complement. Adopting the definition of government as that of the relation between a head and its complement, it can be said that the temporal not only governs but also properly governs the S node it introduces even though it does not c-command it. But this type of government is that of "time government" in the sense that it controls the time reference of the S node it introduces.

S-structures (2) also illustrate that the temporal nominals /min ?awwal/ and /min baacir/ have the preposition /min/ as part of their lexical composition. That is, the preposition /min/ has been fossilized to become part of their lexical composition. The fossilization of the preposition is indicated by the fact that it does

¹For a discussion of these members as well as a few more members of the Temporal Nominal subclass, see Chapter IV, Part II.

not behave like a regular preposition in the sense that it does not require the nominal it introduces to inflect for definite or indefiniteness.¹

These S-structures also demonstrate that the definite article and the specifier carried by /halhiin/ are part of its lexical composition; ie /halhiin/ is not decomposable into /ha-/, /-l-/ and /hiin/ because */hiin/ is not an acceptable lexical item in D.A.D. syntax. Therefore, /halhiin/, /min ?awwal/, and /min baaqir/ each represents in D.A.D. syntax three words, and not phrases that may be decomposable into several words.

As a matter of fact, it is the presence of fossilized elements in the lexical composition of the temporal nominals that distinguishes them from nouns of time of designation.² That is, the temporal nominals, apart from being defective nouns in the sense that they do not inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness and number and

¹See nouns introduced by prepositions in Chapter I Part II, pp. 337 (ii) for an example.

²Nouns of time designation will be discussed under temporal PP because a noun of time designation functioning as a temporal must be incorporated in a PP that is generated in Comp. see pp. 233-43 of Chapter III, Part I and pp. 460-67 of Chapter IV, Part II.

in the sense that they are restricted in their syntactic distribution, they are also defective in the sense that they exemplify fossilized elements in their lexical composition in the manner shown above.¹

1.3.1.1.2: Time government by a Nominal Construct

Within my corpus of material, the only temporal nominal constructs that I have encountered are those referring to the days of the week. The following sentences provide examples of temporal nominal constructs:

(1)

- (a) //yoom irribuuʒ/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

On Wednesday, the water is much.

- (b) //yoom iθθiluuθ/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

On Tuesday, the water is much.

- (c) //yoom ilʔahad/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

On Sunday, the water is much.

(2)

- (a) //yoom irribuuʒ/ --> irrijaal filbeet/

On Wednesday, the man is in the house.

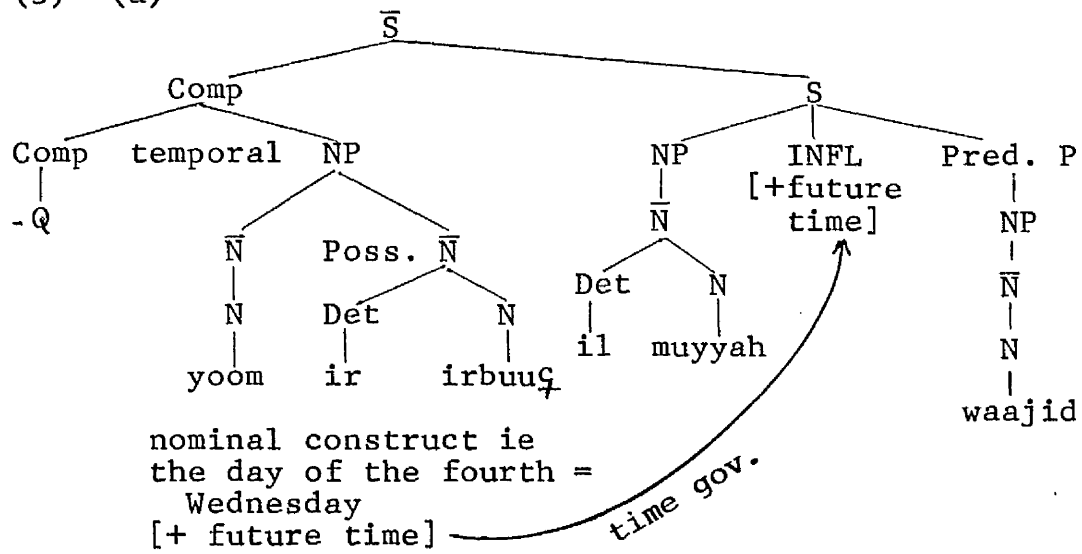
- (b) //yoom ilʔahad/ --> irrijaal filbeet/

On Sunday, the man is in the house.

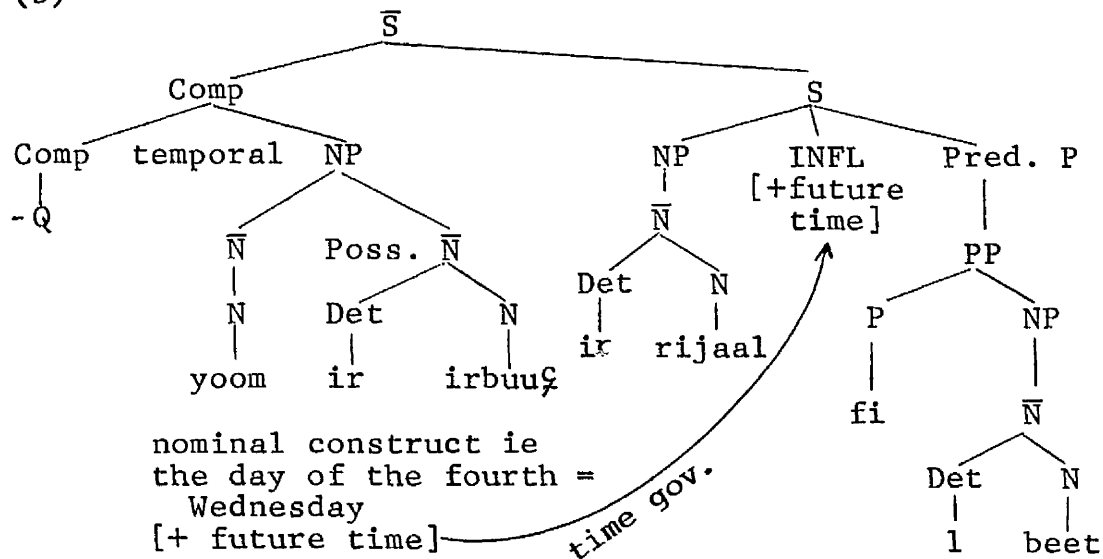
¹See Chapter IV of Part II for a more detailed discussion of the temporal nominals in D.A.D. syntax.

The fact that the temporals in the above sentences have the internal structure of a nominal construct is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (1)(a) and (2)(a).

(3) (a)



(b)



As shown by the above mentioned sentences and their S-structures, the temporal in D.A.D. may also have the internal structure of a nominal construct but this is the case only when it refers to the days of the week. And regardless of the difference of its internal structure from that of the temporal nominal, the temporal nominal construct nevertheless exercises time government on the S node it introduces.

1.3.1.1.3: Time government by a temporal PP

The time reference of the D.A.D. nominal sentence may also be controlled by a temporal PP that is generated in its Comp. That is, apart from being controlled by a temporal nominal or a temporal nominal construct, the time reference of the nominal sentence in D.A.D. may be controlled by a temporal PP. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

(1)

(a) //filleel/ --> iddarṣiyyah hilwah/

At night, Darṣiyyah is pretty.

(b) //filleel/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

At night, water is much.

(c) //filleel/ --> ?ummi ṣaaditin binti/

At night, my mother taking care of my daughter.

- (d) //filleel/ --> ilwalad filbeet/

At night, the boy is at home.

(2)

- (a) //fiššita haaša/ --> iddarçiyah barad/

In this winter, Darçiyah is cold.

- (b) //filyoom ittaali/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

In the next day, the water is much.

- (c) //filyoom irraabiç/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

In the fourth day, the water is much ie

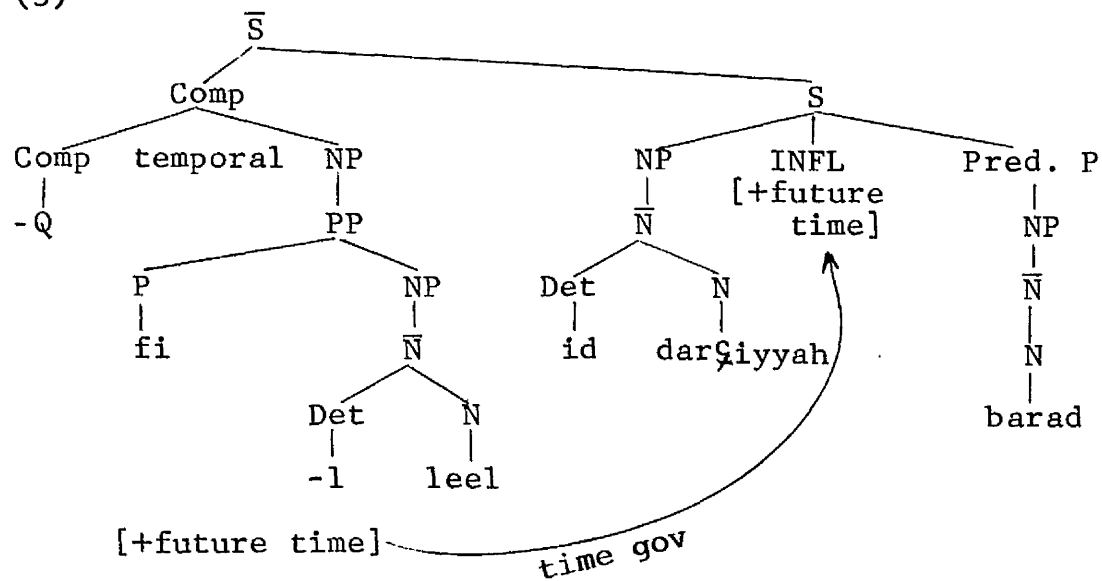
On the fourth day

- (d) //fiššaahir ittaali/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

In the next month, the water is much.

As illustrated by sentences (1), a temporal PP is composed of a noun of time designation that is introduced by a definite article and governed by a preposition. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(a):

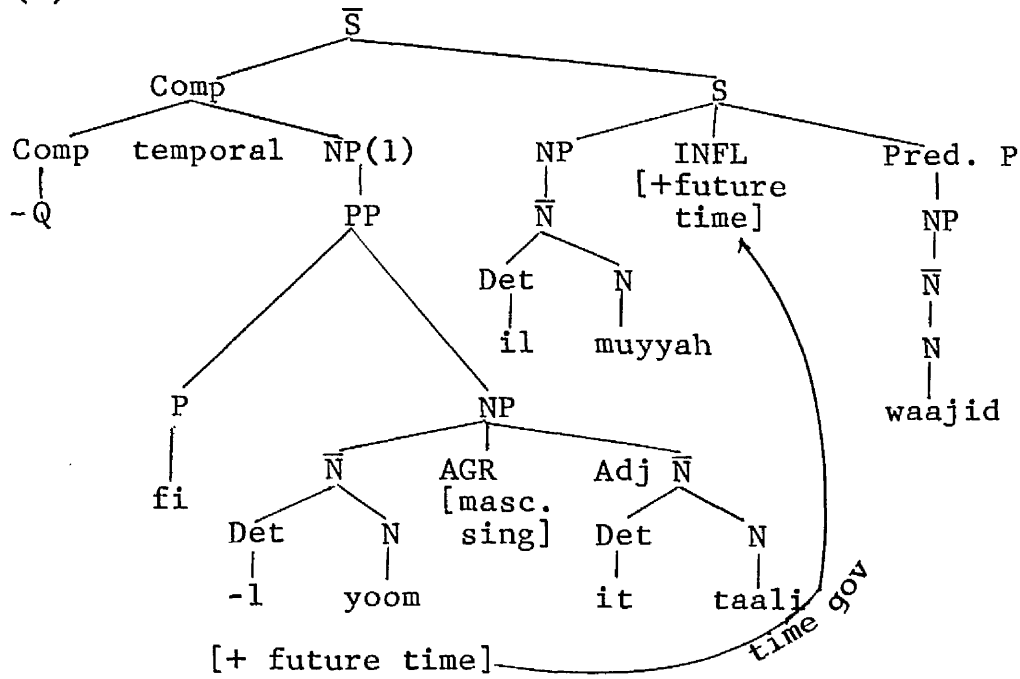
(3)



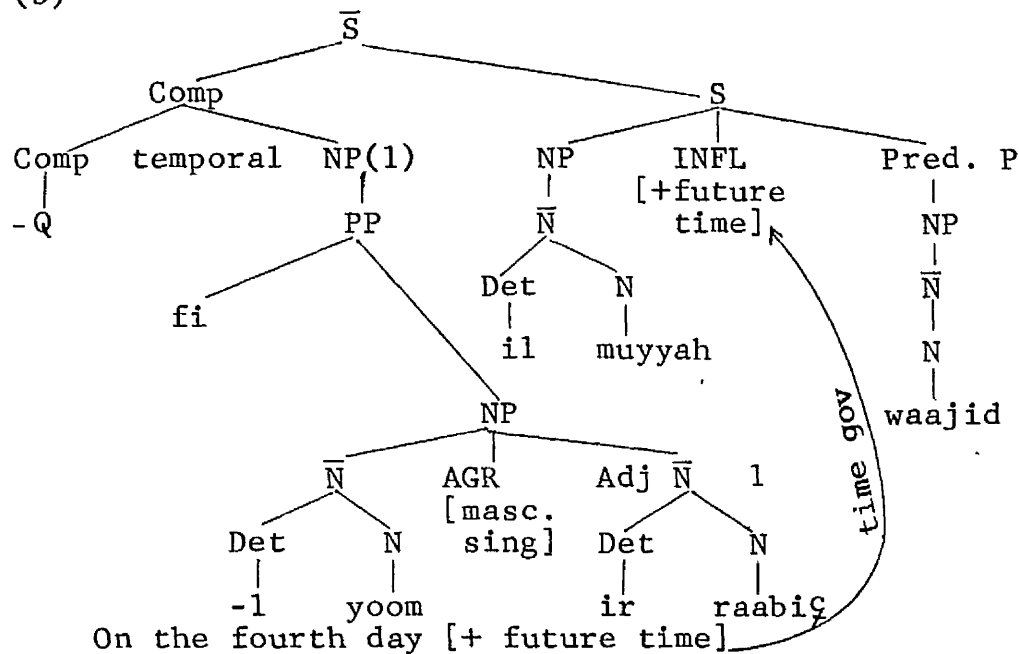
A temporal PP may also be composed of a noun of time designation that is introduced by a definite article and qualified by an adjectival, forming an NP that is governed by a preposition. This type of temporal PP is illustrated by sentences (2) and demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (2)(b) + (c):

(4)

(a)



(b)



S-structures (3) and (4) also demonstrate that both types of temporal PPs are dominated by an NP. This is for the sake of their θ marking since these temporals must be assigned to θ -role "temporal" regardless of the fact that they have the internal structure of a PP. That is, as both the temporals in S-structures (3) and (4) are dominated by an NP, they are Case marked and this way they are visible at LF for θ marking. And as

¹It is to be noted that /irraabiḡ/ is an adjectival in relation to its head nominal whereas /irribuuḡ/ in sentences (1) of section 1.3.1.1.2. is a nominal holding a possessive relation with its head nominal, forming a nominal construct.

they both exercise time government on the S node they introduce, they are assigned the θ role "temporal."

The temporal PP also differs from the temporal nominal in that it requires a noun of time designation as its complement. And a noun of time designation differs from a temporal nominal in that it is a noun and so it has the syntactic behaviour of a noun; an indication of which is the fact that it has the full inflectional paradigm of a noun. This is illustrated by the following paradigm of the noun of time designation ie /leel/ "night".

(5)

- (a) /leel/ uninflected form.
- (b) /illeel/ "the night" inflected for definiteness by a definite article.
- (c) /layali/ "nights" inflected for number.
- (d) /leelatin/ "a night" inflected for indefiniteness.
- (e) /leelteen/ "2 nights" inflects for duality.
- (f) /leelah/ inflects for gender ie feminine form.
- (g) /leeli/ "my night" inflects for possession.

Being a noun of time designation and not a temporal nominal, /leel/ as with all other nouns of time designation must be introduced by a preposition when it is

generated in Comp. and functions as a temporal in relation to the S node it introduces. And as the preposition that introduces a noun of time designation is not a fossilized part of its lexical composition, it governs this noun, which it introduces, and requires it to have a definite article. It also allows that noun to be qualified by an adjectival,¹ as demonstrated by sentences (2) and S-structure (4).

It follows that a noun of time designation generated in Comp. and not introduced by a preposition is not a temporal, instead it functions as a topic NP. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

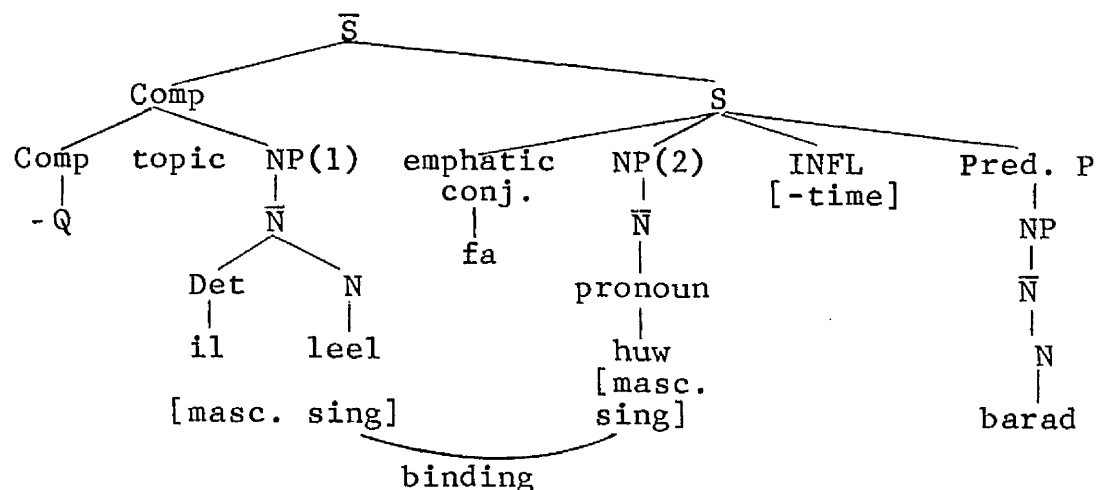
(6)

(a) //illeel --> fahuw barad/

The night, it definitely is cold.

¹Nouns of time designation differ in this respect from temporal nominals ie a temporal nominal cannot be qualified by an adjective, for example, */ilhiin ittaa-ti/ is ill-formed because */ilhiin/ is qualified by an adjective (See Chapter IV, Part II, for a more detailed discussion of some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals).

(b)



Not being a temporal, NP(1) does not control the time reference of the S node it introduces. It simply binds NP(2) in the S node it introduces. This is because it is a topic NP.

Consequently, it may be said that one of the basic differences between a noun of time designation and a temporal nominal is that the former must be introduced by a preposition when it functions as a temporal while the temporal nominal does not. This is demonstrated by the following sentences in which we have a comparison between a noun of time designation and a temporal nominal generated as the temporal NP:

(7)

(a) /filleel/ --> hiy barad/

At night, it (fem. and sing.) is cold.

(b) /issubih/ --> hiy barad/

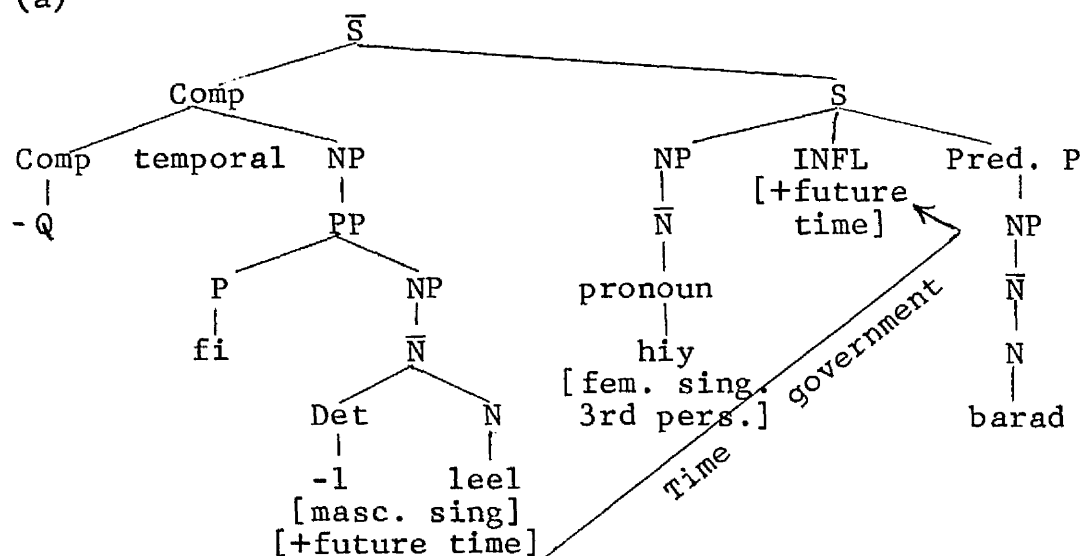
In the morning, it is cold.

(c) * /fissubih/ --> hiy barad/

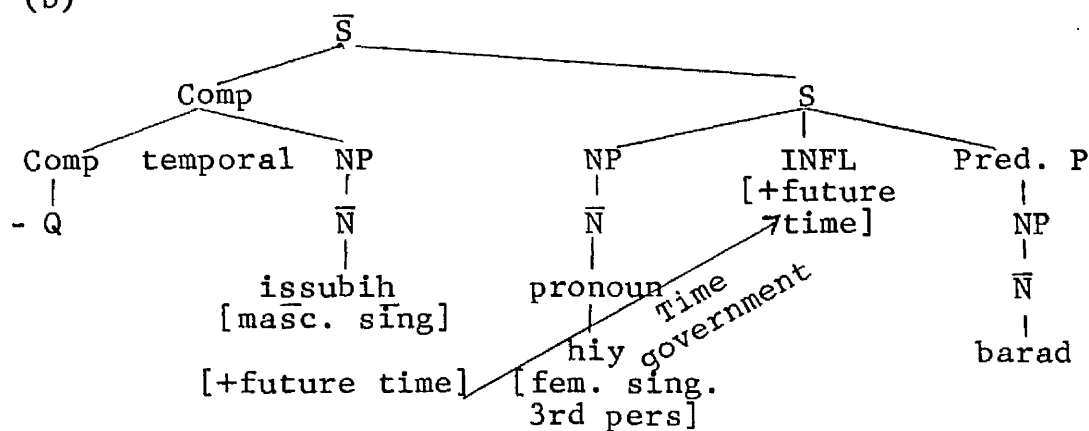
As /issubih/ is a temporal nominal, it functions as a temporal without being introduced by a preposition; therefore, sentence (b) is well-formed whereas (c) is ill-formed. As for the noun of time designation, it must be introduced by a preposition so as to function as a temporal, as illustrated by sentence (a). Therefore, both /filleel/ and /issubih/ function as temporals in relation to the S nodes they introduce despite the fact that /issubih/ is not introduced by a preposition. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures.

(8)

(a)



(b)



That /issubih/ functions as a temporal despite its non-introduction by a preposition is demonstrated by its not binding any NP in the S node it introduces; rather it simply controls its time reference. Therefore, a tempo-

ral that is a PP should be distinguished from one that is not.

1.3.1.1.4: Time government by a temporal clause:

In this section, we deal with complex sentences in which we have a matrix clause and a temporal clause. And since we are discussing nominal sentences, the matrix clauses of the complex sentences discussed here are nominal clauses. As for the temporal clauses, they are always verbal in structure and may be introduced by a temporal particle¹ or a temporal nominal.² The examples that will be tackled in this section are those temporal clauses that are introduced by temporal nominals and that are embedded in the Comp. of a D.A.D. nominal matrix clause. The purpose of their discussion here is simply to demonstrate that temporals in D.A.D. differ from topics, which are also generated in Comp. This difference is that temporals are not only clausal in

¹A temporal particle is a temporal clause introducer that is not a nominal. For examples, see pp. 454-8 of Introduction of Chapter IV, Part II.

²There are two different types of temporal nominals those that introduce temporal clauses and those that do not. For examples of those that introduce temporal clauses see the Introduction of Chapter IV, Part II. And for those that do not see pp. 224-231 of Chapter III of Part I, and Chapter IV of Part II.

status but may also be clausal in structure as well. This reinforces the fact that a temporal even when it is phrasal in structure still has a clausal status because it represents a separate clause that is on par with the matrix clause and controls the time reference of that matrix clause. It differs in that respect from the topic nominal because the latter only controls a constituent in the S node it introduces ie the NP it binds; therefore it is always phrasal in status as well as in structure.¹

The following sentences are examples of such nominal matrix clauses whose time reference is controlled by a temporal clause that is generated in their Comp.

(1)

(a) //mĩn yoom tijiin/wana wayyahum/

From day you are coming and I am with them.

I've been with them ever since you have come.

(b) //ɕugbima maat ?abu ɕiylaani/?inni fi faggir/

After that died father of my children, I am in poverty.

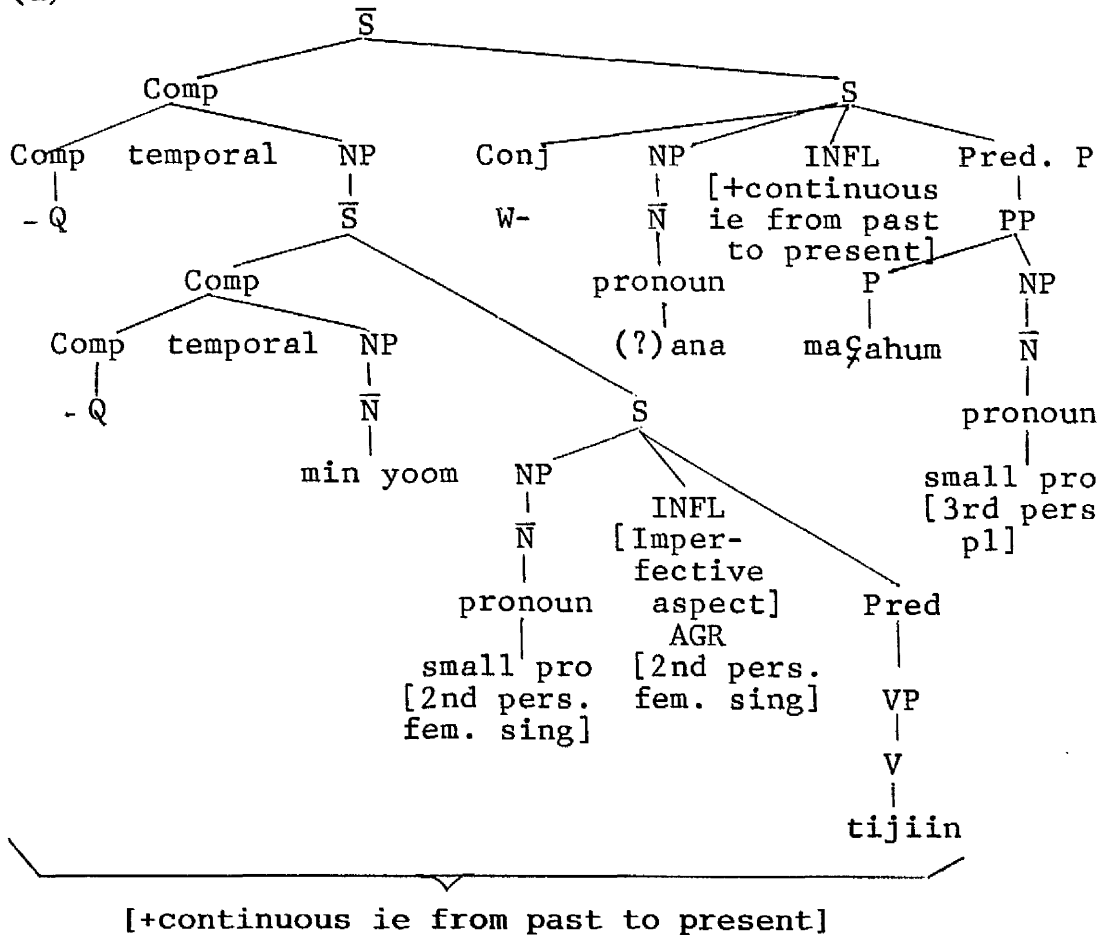
When my husband died, I was in poverty.

¹See pp. 56, 59, 149-155 of Introduction and p. 167 No. 2(6) of Introduction of Part I for examples of topic nominals.

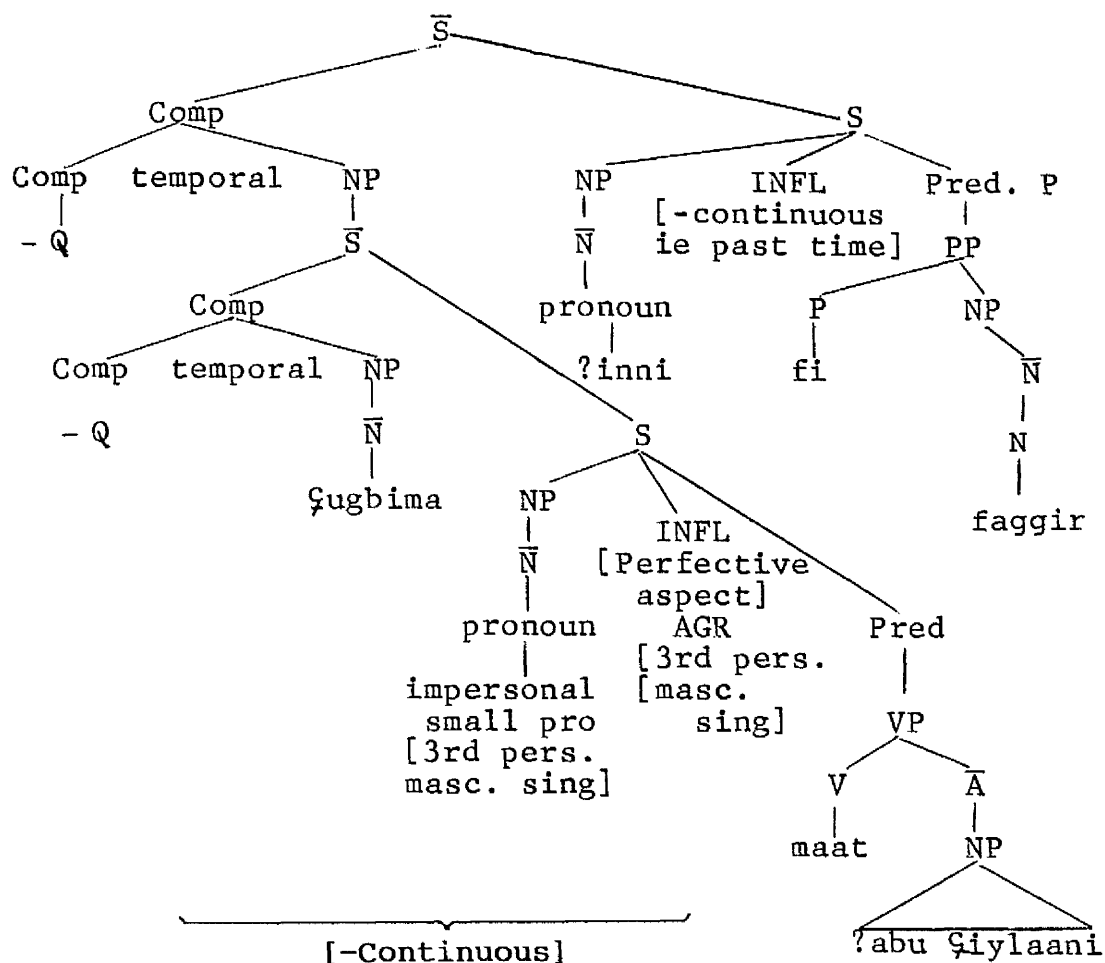
This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences 1(a) + (b), which also demonstrate that the temporal clause is dominated by an NP. This is because the temporal clause must be assigned the θ role "temporal" at LF and it is only visible if it has Case. And Case, according to the theory used in this thesis, is assigned to NPs; therefore, the temporal clause is dominated by an NP for the sake of Case assignment and θ marking.

(2)

(a)



(b)



It is not our purpose to analyze the internal structure of the temporal clause;¹ examples of which have been incorporated in this section in order to show that the D.A.D. temporal may be phrasal or clausal in structure. Therefore, it is sufficient to say here that the temporal clause is a verbal clause and that its time

¹For a more detailed discussion of temporal clauses in D.A.D. see the Introduction of Chapter IV, Part II.

reference is the net result of the time reference of its clause introducer (be it a temporal nominal or a temporal particle) and its verb form (be it perfective or imperfective). And with some temporal clauses, the conjunction /wa/, which introduces S node, also plays a part in the indication of the time reference of that S node.

This is verified by S-structures (a) + (b). In (a) we find that the matrix clause acquires the syntactic feature [+ continuous] because of the temporal clause that introduces it. This is because this temporal clause has the temporal nominal /min yoom/ as its introducer; has an imperfective verb form ie /tijiin/ and its S node is introduced by the conjunction /wa/. And in (b), the matrix clause acquires [- continuous] because its temporal clause is introduced by the temporal nominal /ɕugbi-ma/ and its verb form is perfective. However, despite this difference in the syntactic feature ie [± continuous] both temporal clauses govern the S node they introduce because they determine the time reference of the matrix clause, which is a nominal clause.

In conclusion of this very brief discussion of the D.A.D. temporal clauses governing the time reference of nominal matrix clauses in whose Comp. they are generated,

it can be said that the D.A.D. nominal clause has its time reference determined on the sentence level by a temporal clause or a temporal phrase in structure even though both the temporal clause and the temporal phrase are clausal in status since they are both on par with S node as a whole. The temporal phrase is also a nominal in structure in the sense that it does not have a verb and it may be composed of a temporal nominal that does not introduce temporal clauses,¹ a temporal nominal construct or a temporal PP, as exemplified earlier. The temporal phrase may also be said to be associated with the time features present, past or future. As for the temporal clause, it is verbal in structure because it is always a verbal clause. It can also be said that it is associated with the syntactic feature of [+ continuous]. That is, it makes the matrix clause it introduces acquire the syntactic feature [+ continuous] and this is, of course, registered in its INFL, as shown above.

In the following section, we will briefly show how the time reference of a nominal sentence that has no temporal generated in its Comp. is determined. To do

¹For a more detailed discussion of this type of temporal nominal see Chapter IV of Part II.

so, the analyst has to deal briefly with its previous discourse despite the fact that the analysis encountered in this thesis is essentially on the sentence level. The purpose of such an analysis is to show that the D.A.D. nominal sentence with no temporal generated in its own Comp. is still capable of time indication. But it is dependent in such a case on its previous discourse and, therefore, there is absolutely no necessity in assuming that the nominal sentence has a VP category at LF for the sake of its time indication even when it has no temporal in its Comp.

1.3.1.2: The D.A.D. nominal sentence without a temporal in its Comp.

A D.A.D. nominal sentence with no temporal in its Comp. registers in its INFL the syntactic feature [-time] because its time reference is not determined on the sentence level. Nevertheless, such sentences may still have their time reference determined by their speech reference or by the previous discourse.

By speech reference is meant that the nominal sentence is associated with the present time when it is spoken in the present. This is, of course, an implicit association that is not dependent on linguistic factors;

and therefore, INFL does not register such a time association. That is, INFL only registers the syntactic feature [+ time] when its Comp. has a temporal. For clarity of exposition, this is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1)

(a) /halhiin --> ilwalad mudarris/

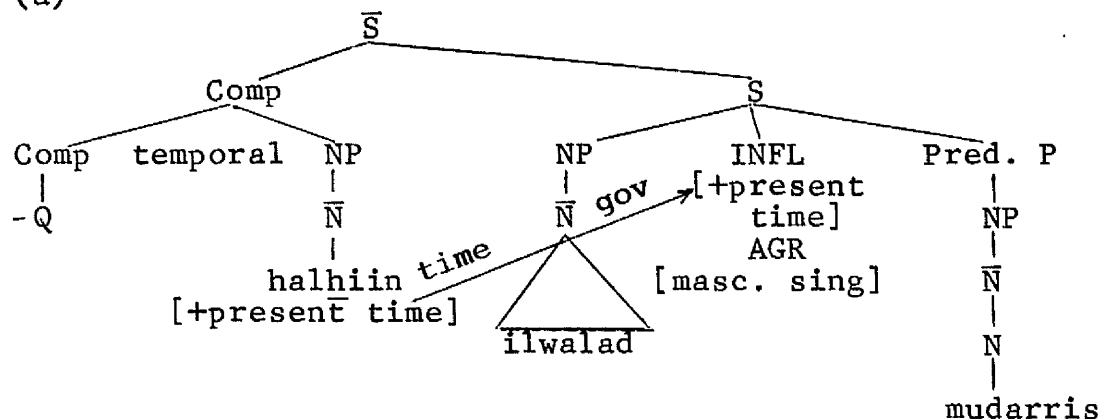
Now, the boy is a teacher.

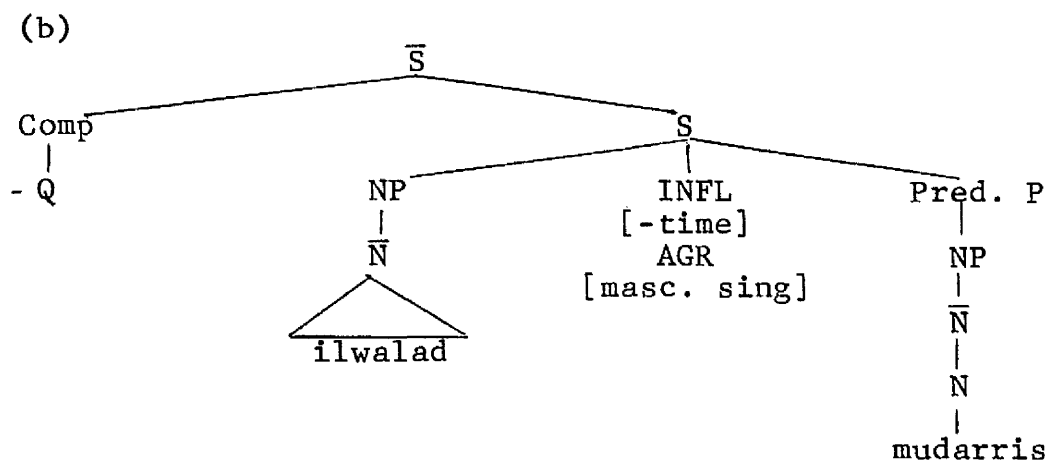
(b) /ilwalad mudarris/

The boy is a teacher.

(2)

(a)





It is sentence (1)(a) whose INFL has the syntactic feature [+ present time] because its Comp. has a temporal. As for (1b), its INFL has the syntactic feature [- time] because it has no temporal generated in its Comp. Nevertheless, if sentence (1b) is uttered in the present, it is implicitly associated with the present time. But as this association is dependent on its speech reference, and not on any formal manifestation on the sentence level, it is not registered in its INFL; and therefore INFL has the syntactic feature [- time], as indicated earlier.

The time reference of the D.A.D. nominal sentence with no temporal in its Comp. may also be determined by its previous discourse; in which case a temporal in the Comp. of a previous sentence determines its time refer-

ence. This is illustrated by the following very short discourse:

(3)

(a) /min ?awwal/ --> yiz řabuun min ilçiliib/

(a) /min ?awwal/ --> yiz řabuun min ilçiliib/ well.

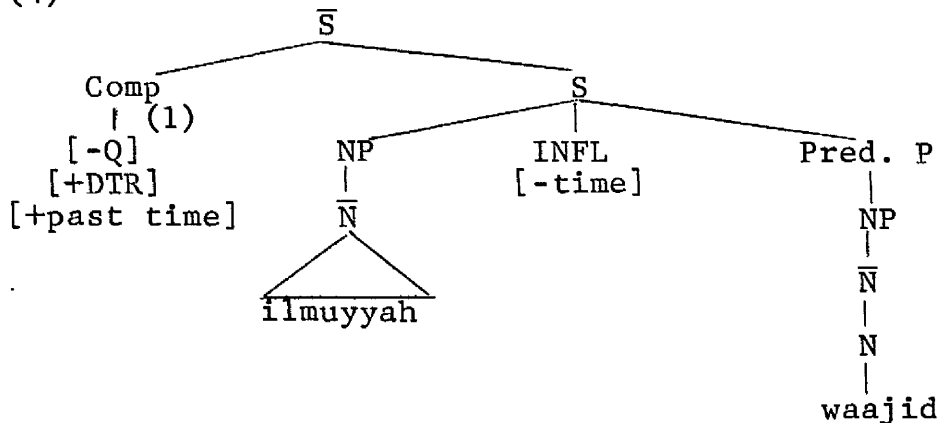
They used to pull water from the well.

(b) /wilmuyyah waajid/

And the water used to be much.

Sentence (a) has a temporal generated in its Comp. ie /min ?awwal/. As for sentence (b), it does not have a temporal generated in its Comp but it is, nevertheless, associated with the past time because the temporal /min ?awwal/ is generated in the Comp. of a sentence in its previous discourse. This may be demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (b).

(4)



As the time reference of sentence (b) is not determined on the sentence level (ie by means of a temporal in its Comp.), its INFL has the syntactic feature [- time]. But as its time reference is nevertheless formally manifested (ie by means of a temporal generated in the Comp. of a sentence in its previous discourse), it should be indicated at its S-structure, as shown by (4). It differs in this respect from speech reference, as shown by S-structure (2b).

The time reference of sentence (3b), however, is registered in Comp. itself under [+ DTR] ie Discourse Time Reference, and not under INFL as shown by (4). This is to distinguish between a nominal sentence whose time reference is determined on the sentence level (ie by a temporal generated in its Comp.) and one whose time reference is determined by an analysis of its previous discourse (ie by a temporal in the Comp. of a sentence in its previous discourse). Therefore, INFL only registers the time features on the sentence level whereas DTR registers the time features that are determined by the previous discourse.

DTR is under Comp. itself, and not under the Comp. A-position, because it registers a time feature, and not

a temporal nominal. That is, temporal nominals are generated in the Comp. A-position but the time feature carried on from the previous discourse is registered under Comp. itself. And being registered in Comp itself, DTR, as shown by S-structure (4), does not require Chomsky adjunction. This allows it to "minimally c-command" the S node it introduces. That is, even in a nominal sentence that has no temporal generated in its Comp, its time reference is determined by a time feature that is generated in its Comp and that also governs the S node it introduces. This is because the syntactic feature [+ past time], carried on from the previous discourse, is registered in its Comp under DTR, as shown in S-structure (4).

The dependence of a nominal sentence with no temporal in its Comp on the temporal of another sentence in its previous discourse verifies the claim that the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation. This is because even when it does not have a temporal in its own Comp, it is not dependent on the presence of a VP category at its LF for its time indication, rather it is dependent on an NP in a sentence in its previous discourse ie the temporal

NP. Therefore, the D.A.D. nominal sentence with or without a temporal in its own Comp is totally not dependent on the category VP for its time indication.

The above discussion has also shown that INFL in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is an abstraction of the time reference on the sentence level only; therefore, it only registers the feature [+ time] when there is a temporal generated in the Comp of its S node. This points to the fact that there is a close relation between INFL and the Comp A-position, which generates temporals. As for Comp itself and INFL, there is no such relation as shown by the fact that INFL does not register the time feature recorded under DTR. This demonstrates that INFL does not carry on the time reference of a temporal in a sentence in the previous discourse.

The above discussion has also shown that the time reference of the D.A.D. nominal sentence with a temporal in its Comp or without a temporal in its Comp is acquired by means of the government of its S node by an element in its Comp. When the nominal sentence has no temporal generated in its Comp, the time reference of a sentence in its previous discourse is carried on to it

and this time feature is registered under D.T.R. in its Comp.,¹ which "minimally c-commands" the S node it introduces, and, therefore, governs the time reference of that S node. And when the nominal sentence does have a temporal generated in its Comp, its time reference is also determined by government even though the temporal does not c-command its S node since its involves Chomsky adjunction. That is, the temporal nevertheless governs its S node because Comp. is taken to be the head of \bar{S} , and therefore, S node is its complement. As a matter of fact, the assumption that Comp. is the head of \bar{S} and S node is its complement allows the temporal not only to govern its S node but also to properly govern it since proper government is the relation between the head and its complement.

1.3.2: How the D.A.D. verbal sentence indicates time

The verb forms in D.A.D. "have no specific markers of past versus present, although there are markers of aspect." (B. Comrie 1981:82). The perfective verb form conveys the perfective aspect and the imperfective verb form conveys the imperfective aspect. The latter aspect

¹See p.253 S-structure (4) for an example.

essentially pays attention to the "internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1981:16) whereas the former aspect "indicates the view of the situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various phases that make up the situation." (Comrie 1981:16).

However, "there is a close relationship between imperfective aspect and the present time, and between perfective aspect and past time in these languages without tense markers." (Comrie 1981:83). This may be illustrated in D.A.D. by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /ilyoom/--> yiruhun/

Today, they are going or will go.

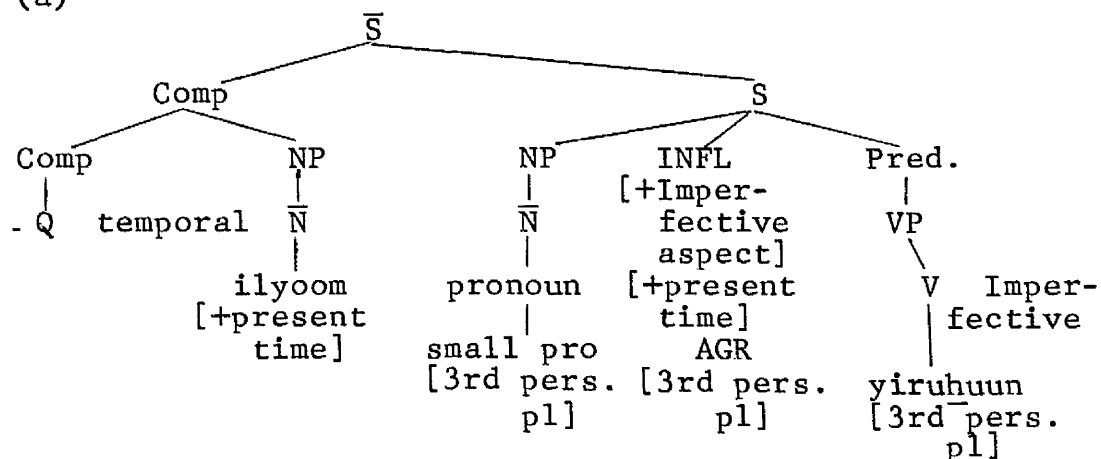
(b) /ilyoom/--> raahu/

Today, they went.

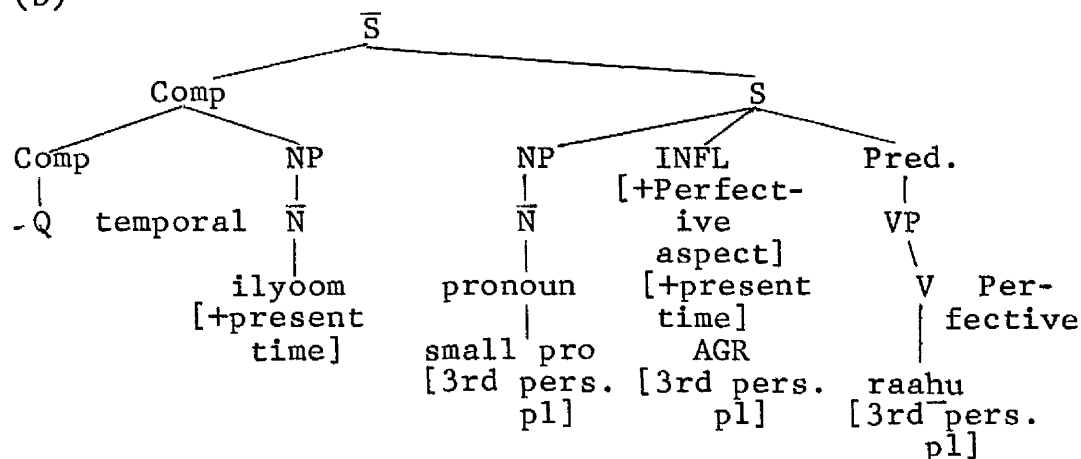
The change in time ie from present in (a) to past in (b) is basically the result of the change in the verb form from imperfective to that of perfective. This is demonstrated by their S-structures and the following discussion:

(2)

(a)



(b)



The temporal NP has the temporal nominal /ilyoom/ and so it makes these sentences associated with the present time of "today". But this present time may be a near future time, and this is the case when it cooccurs with an imperfective verb, as exemplified by sentence 1(a)

and its S-structure 2(a). The present time of /ilyoom/ may also be set in the very recent past if it cooccurs with a perfective verb. This is the case with sentence 1(b) and its S-structure 2(b). Therefore, there is a close relationship between imperfective aspect and the present or near future time whereas there is a close relationship between perfective aspect and past time in D.A.D. syntax.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentence is still partly determined by the temporal NP that is generated in its Comp. This has been demonstrated by sentences (1) and may be further demonstrated by the following sentences.

1.3.2.1: Sentences with imperfective verbs

(1)

(a) /min ?awwal --> yihuttuun raashum ciḏa/

From first, they used to put their head like this.

They used to wear their hair like this.

(b) /min baaçir --> yihuttuun raashum ciḏa/

From tomorrow, they put their head like this.

They will be wearing their hair like this.

(c) /halhiin --> yihuttuun raashum ciḏa/

Now, they are wearing their hair like this.

(2)

(a) /min ?awwal --> innaas yizṣabuun min ilgilbaan/

People used to pull water from the wells.

(b) /min baaṣir --> innaas yizṣabuun min ilgilbaan/

They will be pulling water from the wells.

(c) /halhiin --> innaas yizṣabuun min ilgilbaan/

Now, they are pulling water from the wells.

(3)

(a) /min ?awwal --> nihutt miṣaat/

We used to wear mishaat (in our hair)

(b) /min baaṣir --> nihutt miṣaat/

We will be putting ie (wearing) mishaat (in our hair)

(c) /halhiin --> nihutt miṣaat/

Now, we are putting (wearing) mishaat.

(4)

(a) /min ?awwal --> yakluun lahim innajdiyaat/

They used eat goat's meat.

(b) /min baaṣir --> yakluun lahim innajdiyaat/

They will be eating goat's meat.

(c) /halhiin --> yakluun lahim innajdiyaat/

Now, they are eating (ie eat) goat's meat.

(5)

(a) /min ?awwal --> nijiibha min ilmahassad/

We used to bring her from the field.

(b) /min baaçir --> nijiibha min ilmahassad/

We will be bringing her from the field.

(c) /halhiin --> nijiibha min ilmahassad/

Now, we are bringing her from the field.

(6)

(a) /min ?awwal --> yigruun/ They used to read.

(b) /min baaçir --> yigruun/ They will be reading.

(c) /halhiin --> yigruun/ Now, they are reading.

All of the above mentioned sentences have imperfective verbs, which convey the imperfective aspect and this aspect denotes the action in a progressive state. Consequently, these actions may be set in any time reference in accordance with the temporal NP that is generated in its Comp. Therefore, when the verbal sentence has an imperfective verb and the temporal nominal /min ?awwal/ generated as its temporal NP, it conveys a past continuous action but when it has an imperfective verb and the temporal nominal /min baaçir/ is generated as its temporal NP, it conveys a future continuous action. And when it has an imperfective verb and the

temporal nominal /halhiin/ as its temporal NP, it conveys a present continuous action. It is in this respect that time is indicated in the D.A.D. verbal sentence with an imperfective verb partly by its verb form and partly by its temporal NP.¹

1.3.2.2: Sentences with perfective verb form:

Discussion of verbal sentences with perfective verb forms also verifies the fact that their time reference is partly determined by the verb and partly by the temporal. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) /min ?awwal --> jah/

From first, he came ie He came and is no longer here.

(b) /halhiin --> jah/

Now, he came ie He has just come.

(2)

(a) /min ?awwal --> raah/

From first, he went. He went away a long time ago and he may be back now.

(b) /halhiin --> raah/

¹For more examples of D.A.D. temporals, see Chapter III, Part I, pp.221-224 and Chapter IV, Part II.

Now, he went ie He has just gone.

(3)

(a) /min ?awwal --> tajawwaz/

From first he married. He got married a long time ago.

(b) /halhiin --> tajawwaz/

Now, he married. He has just gotten married.

(4)

(a) /min ?awwal --> hajj/

From first, he pilgrimaged. He had been on a pilgrimage a long time ago.

(b) /halhiin --> hajj/

Now, he pilgrimaged. He has just been on a pilgrimage.

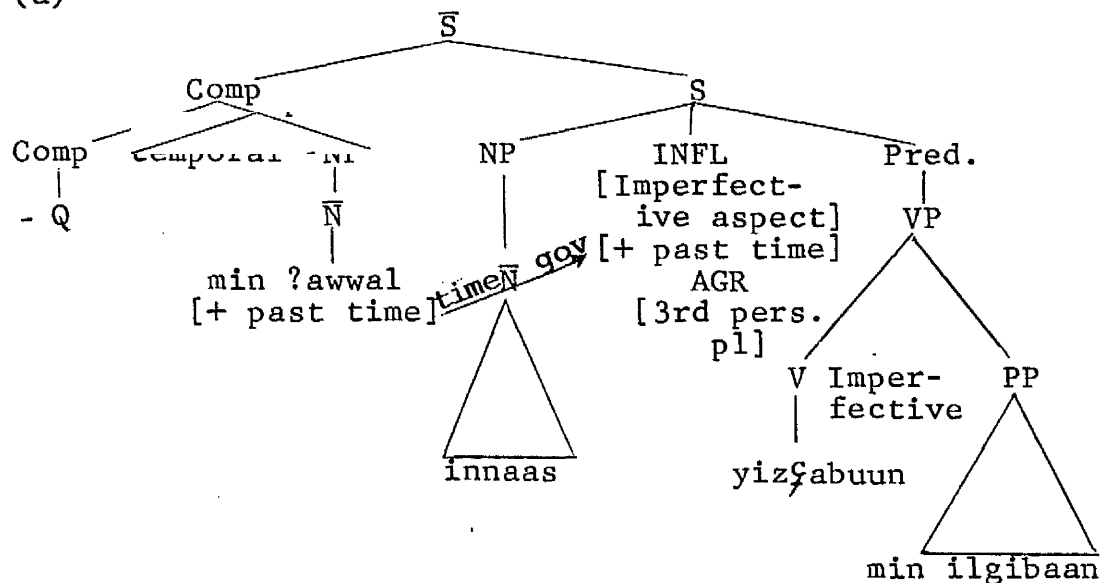
As the perfective verb is associated with the past time, the generation of /min baaçir/ as its temporal NP is not possible. As for /min ?awwal/, it sets it in a distant time past whereas /halhiin/ sets it in one that is of the immediate past. Therefore, even the time reference of verbal sentences with perfective verbs is partly determined by the verb and partly by the temporal

NP despite the fact that it is anomalous with the temporal nominal /min baaçir/, which indicates futurity.

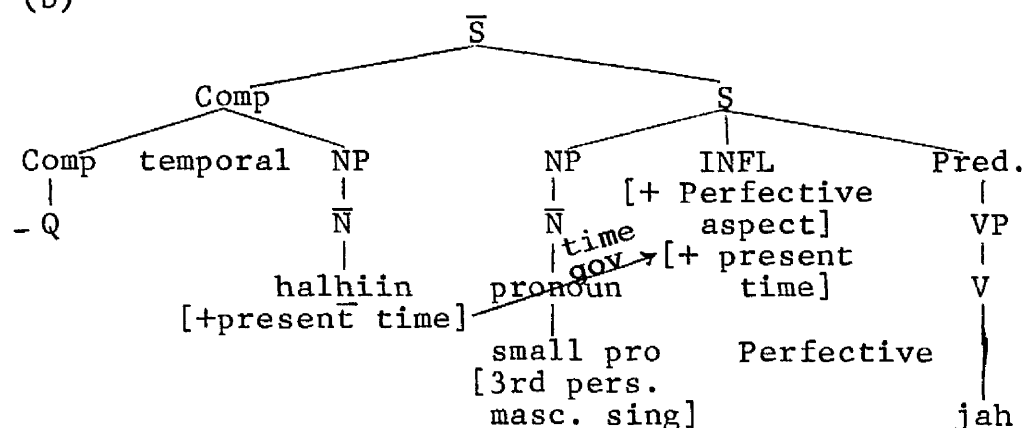
This interdependence on the verb form and the temporal NP for the time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentence is also demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (2)(a) and (1)(b), in which INFL registers the time reference of both the verb and the temporal.

(5)

(a)



(b)



As S-structure (a) has an INFL that has an imperfective aspect and the syntactic feature [+ past time], the sentence has the time reference of that of a past continuous time. On the other hand, as S-structure (b) has an INFL that has a perfective aspect and the syntactic feature [+ present time], the sentence conveys an immediate past time. Therefore, the time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentence is indeed partly determined by the verb form it has and partly by the temporal if it has one.¹

¹As this study is basically concerned with an analysis on the sentence level, nothing is said about a verbal sentence in relation to its previous discourse. The nominal sentence in relation to its previous discourse was very briefly discussed to show its non dependence on the VP category even when it does not have a temporal NP generated in its Comp.

That the D.A.D. verbal sentence has its time reference indicated in a different way from that which is used in the nominal sentence provides further evidence of the autonomy of the nominal sentence in D.A.D. syntax. That is, time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is indicated by means of a temporal NP but in the verbal sentence it is indicated partly by the verb form and partly by the temporal NP. Therefore, the D.A.D. nominal sentence should not be regarded as having an "abstract VP category" at any level of its syntactic representation.

CHAPTER IV

1.4: Other Syntactic Differences between the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence and the Verbal Sentence for the Indication of the Autonomy of the Former

Apart from the difference between the nominal sentence and the verbal sentence as regards time indication, they also differ as regards the rule of subject inversion; the rules for reflexivity and reciprocity; and the rules for Case assignment. Such differences naturally verify the fact that the D.A.D. nominal sentence represents an autonomous sentential configuration in its syntactic system.

1.4.1: The rule of subject inversion:

The rule of subject inversion, which applies to the D.A.D. verbal sentence, does not apply to the nominal sentence. This is another syntactic evidence that nominal sentences are autonomous from verbal sentences, ie in the verbal sentence you can invert the subject whereas in the nominal sentence you cannot. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences:

- (a) //ilwalad/ṣaatir/ The boy is clever.

(b) //ilbint/ hilwah/ The girl is pretty.

(c) */šaatirin il walad/

(d) * /hilwah ilbint/

(2) Verbal sentences:

(i) /šaaf/ ilwalad ilbint/

Saw the boy the girl.

(ii) /raah/ ilwalad/

Went the boy.

(iii) /yišifuun/ irraja*j*iil ilbint/

They see the men the girl.

(iv) /yiruhuun/ ilbanaat/

Go the girls ie The girls go.

(v) //ilbanaat/ yiruhuun/

The girls go.

(vi) //irraja*j*iil/ yišifuun ilbint/

The men see the girl.

(vii) //ilwalad/ raah/

The boy went.

(viii) //ilwalad/ šaaf ilbint/

The boy saw the girl.

Sentences (1) illustrate that the NP subject in the D.A.D. nominal sentence must be in prepredicate position. It is in this respect that sentences (a) + (b)

are well-formed whereas those of (c) + (d) are ill-formed. This verifies that the rule of subject inversion which moves the NP subject from prepredicate position to an adjunct position in the predicate phrase is not applicable to the D.A.D. nominal sentence.

Sentences (2), on the other hand, illustrate that the rule of subject inversion does apply to D.A.D. verbal sentences. Sentences (v) - (viii) have their NP subject in preverbal position whereas sentence (i)-(iv) have their NP subject in a postverbal position. That is, in the D.A.D. verbal sentence the NP subject may be moved from preverbal position to an adjunct position in a postverbal position.

The assumption that the NP subject of the verbal sentence in D.A.D. may be moved from preverbal position to a postverbal position presupposes that the D.A.D. verbal sentence is an SVO sentence. And the fact that D.A.D. is an SVO language is based on the following premises:

(3)

- (a) An NP subject with a pronominal as its head must be preverbal, and not postverbal.

(b) An NP subject with the Name of God as its head is usually preverbal, and not postverbal.

(c) An NP subject in a nominal sentence is always pre predicate.

The first premise is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4)

(a) /ʔinhin/ niruuh_u nihattib wayyahum/

We go to plough with them.

(b) /hiy/ tikidd ʕala ʕiylanha/

She works to provide for her children.

(c) */niruuh_u /ʔinhin/ nihattib wayyahum/

(d) */tikidd /hiy/ ʕala ʕiylanha/

Sentences (a) + (b) are well-formed. As for sentences (c) + (d), they are ill-formed because the NP subject is a pronominal that has been moved from preverbal position to a postverbal position.

The second premise is illustrated by the following sentences:

(5)

(a) /ʔallah/ yirham haalna/

God may he be merciful to us.

(b) /ʔallah/ yiʕfir iʕḍinuub killaha/

God forgives all the sins.

(c) */yirham/?allah/haalna/

(d) */yiʕfir/?allah/iʕʕinuub killaha/

Sentences (a) + (b) are well-formed. But those of (c) + (d) are not because the NP subject with the name of God has been moved from preverbal position to a postverbal position.

The third premise is illustrated by every example of the D.A.D. nominal sentence that has been cited in this thesis,¹ indicating that the NP subject in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is always in a prepredicate position.

Therefore, it is maintained that the NP subject in the D.A.D. verbal sentence is also preverbal and that it is moved under certain conditions to a postverbal position. This allows us to have one base rule² for the sentence formation of both verbal and nominal sentences even though the NP subject of the D.A.D. verbal sentence may undergo to an optional movement rule that moves it from preverbal position to a postverbal position. This

¹See the sentences in Chapters II, III and pp. 280-288 and of Chapter IV of Part I for examples of nominal sentences.

²See pp. 172-173 of Chapter I, Part I for the D.A.D. base rule.

rule is optionally applied only when the NP subject of the D.A.D. verbal sentence is not a pronominal or the Name of God.

And the purpose of this movement rule is to make the NP subject less emphatic ie when the NP subject is in a preverbal position, it is more emphatic than when it is in a postverbal position. That is, the marked form of the NP subject is the less emphatic form, in which case it is in a postverbal position. This does seem to be a general trend in D.A.D. syntax ie the marked forms involve movement and movement is that of lowering, and not raising, therefore, the marked form is the less emphatic form. This has been substantiated by the movement of the NP subject from preverbal position to a postverbal position. It has also been substantiated by the movement of the temporal NP from Comp to an adjunct position in S node by the rule of Temporal Lowering (TL). That is, when the temporal NP has been moved from Comp by the rule of (TL) it becomes less emphatic.¹

The inapplicability of the rule of subject inversion to the D.A.D. nominal sentence has demonstrated

¹For examples and further discussion see pp. 72, 78-80, and 140 of Introduction.

another difference in the syntactic behaviour between a nominal sentence and a verbal sentence, consequently, verifying the autonomy of the nominal sentence in D.A.D. syntax. It has also led to another difference between the nominal sentence and that of the verbal. This difference concerns the syntactic distribution of one of the exponents of the empty category in D.A.D. syntax ie small pro. That is, the syntactic distribution of small pro in the D.A.D. verbal sentence is wider than it is in the nominal sentence. This is because in the verbal sentence small pro may be generated as the subject whereas in the nominal sentence it cannot. And this is due to the fact that AGR of the verbal sentence is a proper governor and so it can properly govern small pro¹ when it is generated as its subject. As for AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence, it is not a proper governor and so small pro cannot be generated as its subject. And AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not a proper governor because it is not a governor of an extraction site, which must be properly governed. That is, as the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is not moved

¹Recall that small pro in D.A.D. is properly governed, and not just governed. See pp.111-122 of Introduction.

from the pre-predicate position, the pre-predicate position in the nominal sentence is not an extraction site; therefore, it is simply a governed position. And being simply a governed position, small pro cannot be generated in it. It follows that small pro is more restricted in its syntactic distribution in the nominal sentence than it is in the verbal sentence.

This difference in the syntactic distribution of small pro in turn leads to a difference in the nature of AGR in the D.A.D. nominal sentence from that of the verbal sentence. Apart from not being a proper governor, AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence also differs from that of the verbal sentence in that it does not have heavy inflection, which is inflection of number, gender and person. As a matter of fact, it is the presence of heavy inflection in the AGR of the verbal sentence that enables it to locally determine the presence of small pro¹ and it is the non-presence of heavy inflection in the AGR of the nominal sentence that makes the local determination of a subject small pro not possible. And the fact that AGR of the D.A.D. nominal sentence has no heavy inflection is indicated by its predicate phrase,

¹See pp. 92 - 98 of Introduction.

which may have inflection for number and gender but never for person. On the other hand, the predicate phrase of the D.A.D. verbal sentence always has inflection for number, gender and person; the fact which indicates that its AGR has heavy inflection. Therefore, despite the fact that both the nominal and the verbal sentence in D.A.D. have AGR, yet AGR in the nominal sentence has no heavy inflection and is not a proper governor whereas in the verbal sentence it has heavy inflection and is a proper governor.

1.4.2: The Rule of Reflexivity and Reciprocity in D.A.D.

Syntax

In D.A.D. syntax, reflexivity is indicated in a different way from reciprocity ie it involves a slightly different rule from that involved in reciprocity. Furthermore, reflexivity in a D.A.D. nominal sentence involves a different rule from that found in a verbal sentence. And in a similar respect, reciprocity in a nominal sentence involves a different rule from that found in a verbal sentence. Such differences will be expounded in the following discussion because it provides further evidence of the autonomy of the D.A.D. nominal sentence.

Such differences, however, are at the level of surface structure. At a more abstract level, both the verbal as well as the nominal sentences whether reflexive or reciprocal subsume to the binding conditions as postulated by Chomsky (1981a). The fact that both nominal and verbal sentences subsume to the binding conditions, at a more abstract level ie at S-structure, not only indicates the universality of such a condition but more importantly the feasibility, in theory, of having nominal sentences, which are sentences with no VP cate-

gory at any level of their syntactic representation. That is, if it can be shown that the very conditions that account for reflexivity and reciprocity in the English sentence can also account for reflexivity and reciprocity in not only the D.A.D. verbal sentence but also the nominal one, then it can be maintained that the configuration with no VP category and that has been called "a nominal sentence" in D.A.D. syntax is justly regarded as sentential, and not phrasal. This is because the very same principles that underlie reflexivity and reciprocity in the English sentence and the D.A.D. verbal sentence also underlie the nominal sentence without having to assume that there is a VP at any level of its syntactic representation. This proves the feasibility of having a nominal sentence (ie a sentential configuration without a VP category) in theory, apart from its being a linguistic fact as indicated by D.A.D. syntax. Therefore, even when we maintain that the D.A.D. nominal sentence subsumes to the same principles that underlie the verbal sentence at a more abstract level as regards reflexivity and reciprocity, this does not diminish the autonomy of nominal sentences in D.A.D. syntax. On the contrary, it points to the fact that from the theoretic-

cal point of view a sentence with no VP category is a feasible possibility since the principles that underlie the sentential configuration in English also do apply to it.

1.4.2.1: An Analysis of Reflexivity in D.A.D. Syntax

In D.A.D., reflexivity is indicated by means of a reflexive clitic, which is realized in the verbal sentence as a verbal affix and in the nominal sentence as a nominal.

1.4.2.1.1: Reflexivity in Nominal Sentences:

For the generation of a reflexive nominal sentence, the following base rule is required.

(1)

- (i) S --> NP(1) INFL Pred. P.
- (ii) Pred. P. --> NP(2) PP.
- (iii) NP(2) --> has a participle as its head.
- (iv) PP --> P NP(3).
- (v) P --> $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{/min/ with passive participles} \\ \text{/bi/ with active participles} \end{array} \right\}$
- (vi) NP(3) --> nominal construct with /nafst+ pronominal suffix/ as its head.

The above base rule generates the following sentences, which are nominal and have the reflexive clitic /nafs + pronominal suffix/.

(2) Nominal sentences with a Passive Participle:

- (i) /huw mistansin min nafsih/
- He is pleased with himself.
- (ii) /hiy mistanistin min nafsaha/
- She is pleased with herself.
- (iii) /?ana mistansin min nafsiy/
- I am pleased (masc. sing) with myself.
- (iv) /?ana mistanistin min nafsiy/
- I am pleased (fem. sing) with myself.
- (v) /?inhin mistansiin min nafsina/
- We are pleased (pl) with ourselves.
- (vi) /hum mistansiin min nafsihum/
- They are pleased with themselves.
- (vii) /?inta mistansin min nafsik/
- You (masc. sing) are pleased with yourself.
- (viii) /?inti mistanistin min nafsiq/
- You (fem. sing) are pleased with yourself.
- (ix) /?intum mistansiin min nafsikum/
- You (pl) are pleased with yourselves.

(3) Nominal sentences with an Active Participle:

(i) /hiy šaayištīn bi~~na~~fsaha//

She is happy with herself.

(ii) /huw šaayšin bi~~na~~fsih//

He is happy with himself.

(iii) /hum šaayšiin bi~~na~~fsihum//

They are happy with themselves.

(iv) /ʔana šaayšin bi~~na~~fsiy//

I am happy (masc. sing) with myself.

(v) /ʔana šaayištīn bi~~na~~fsiy//

I am happy (fem. sing) with myself.

(vi) /ʔinhin šaayšiin bi~~na~~fsina//

We are happy with ourselves.

(vii) /ʔinta šaayšin bi~~na~~fsik//

You (masc. sing) are happy with yourself.

(viii) /ʔinti šaayištīn bi~~na~~fsiq//

You (fem. sing) are happy with yourself.

(ix) /ʔintum šaayšiin bi~~na~~fsikum//

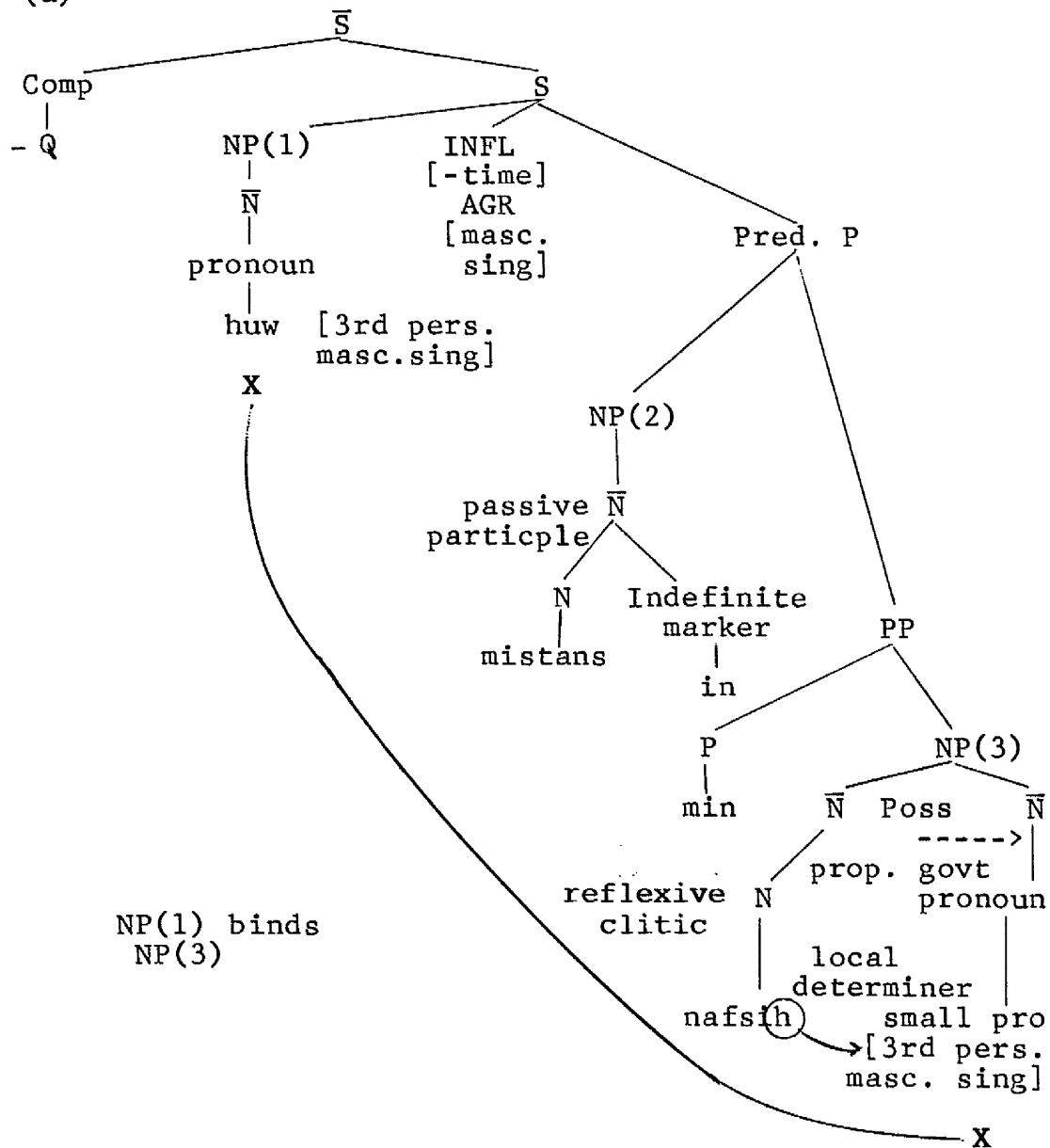
You (pl) are happy with yourselves

Taking sentences (2)(i) and (iii) as well as (3)

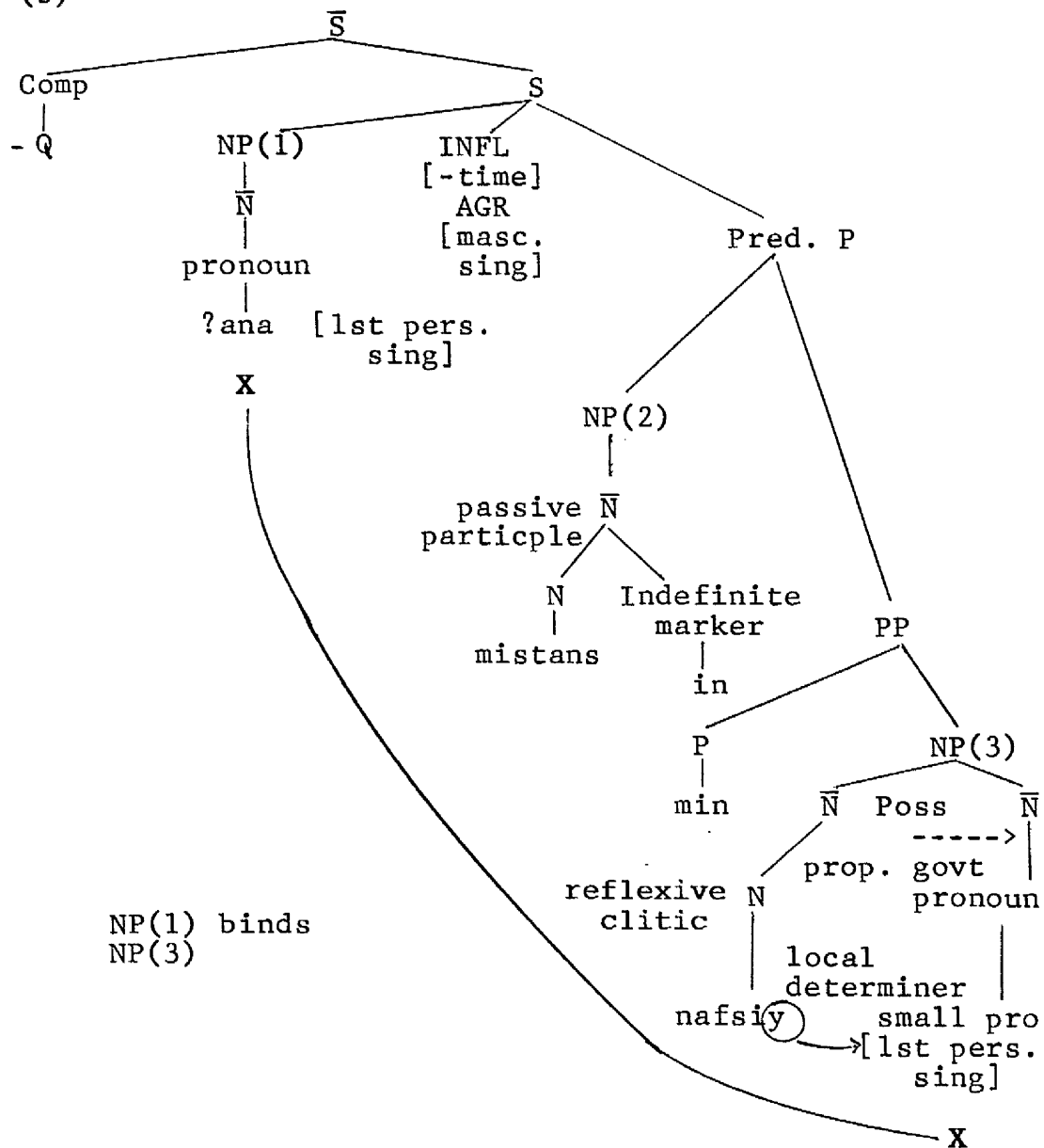
(iii) as examples, we have the following S-structures:

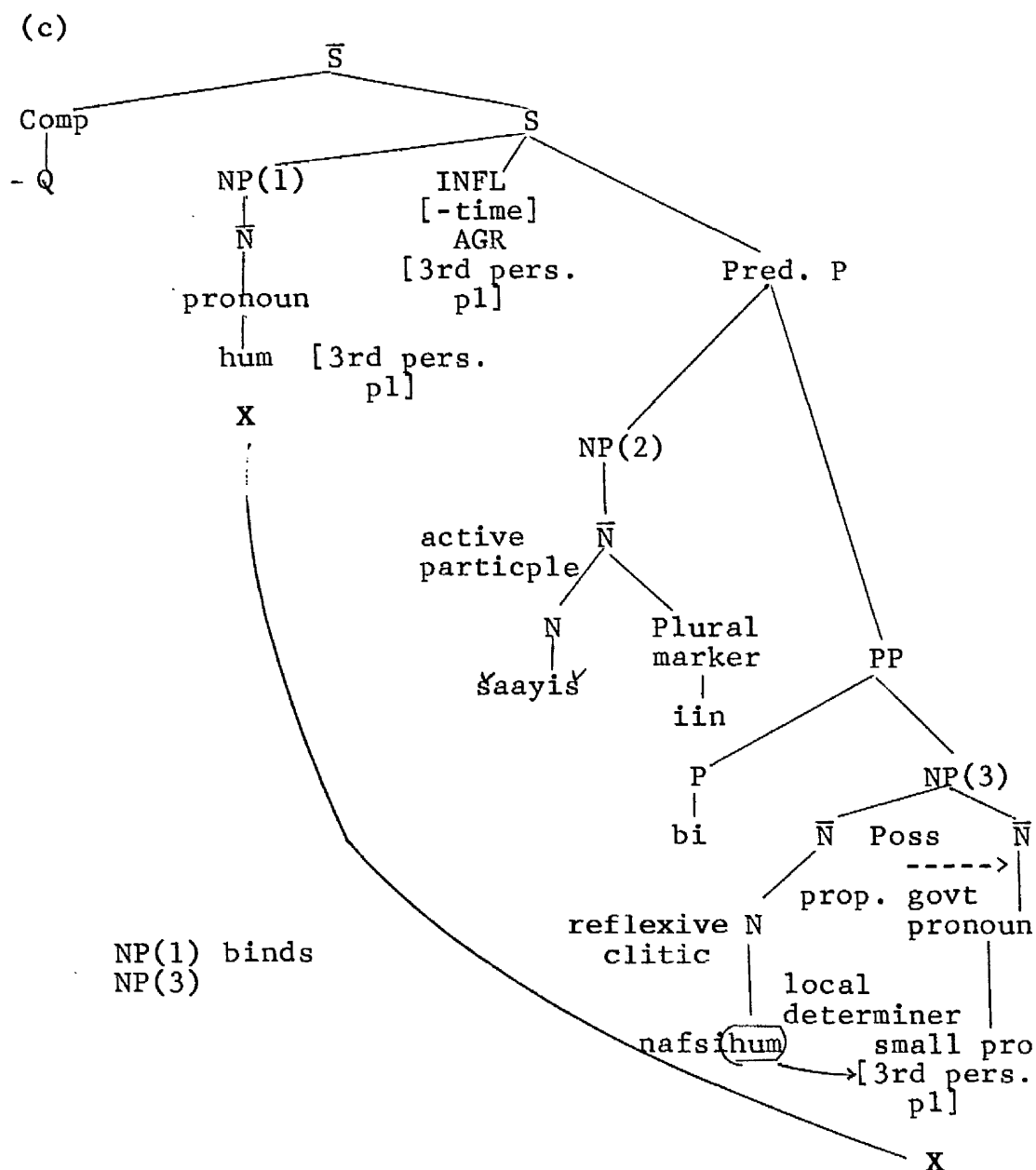
(4)

(a)



(b)





S-structures (4)(a), (b) and (c) demonstrate that NP(1) binds NP(3) because NP(3) has a reflexive clitic ie /nafs + pronominal suffix/. The reflexive clitic has

pronominal suffixes which locally determine the generation of a possessive small pro that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions. That is, it is the possessive small pro that is governed by a reflexive clitic that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions.

The nominal status of /nafs + pronominal suffix/ is indicated by its association with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes, which is characterized by the /-i/ form for first person singular pronominal. This form is indicated in sentences (2)(iii), (3)(iii) and S-structure (4)(b).

The D.A.D. nominal reflexive sentences are just a set out of a wider set of data; therefore, the following sentences are non reflexive because they do not have the reflexive clitic ie /nafs + pronominal suffix/:

(5)

(i) /huw mistansin minni/

He is pleased with me.

(ii) /huw mistansin minha/

He is pleased with her.

(iii) /huw mistansin minih/
 x y

He is pleased with him.

(iv) /huw mistansin minhum/

He is pleased with them.

(v) /huw mistansin minna/

He is pleased with us.

(vi) /huw mistansin miniç/

He is pleased with you (fem. sing).

(vii) /huw mistansin minik/

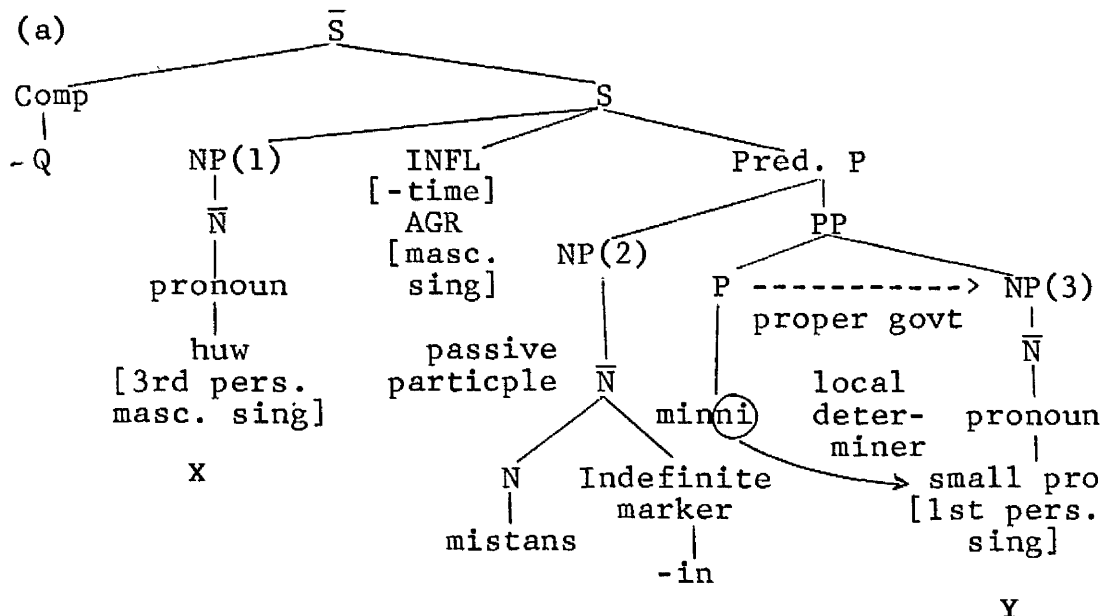
He is pleased with you (masc. sing).

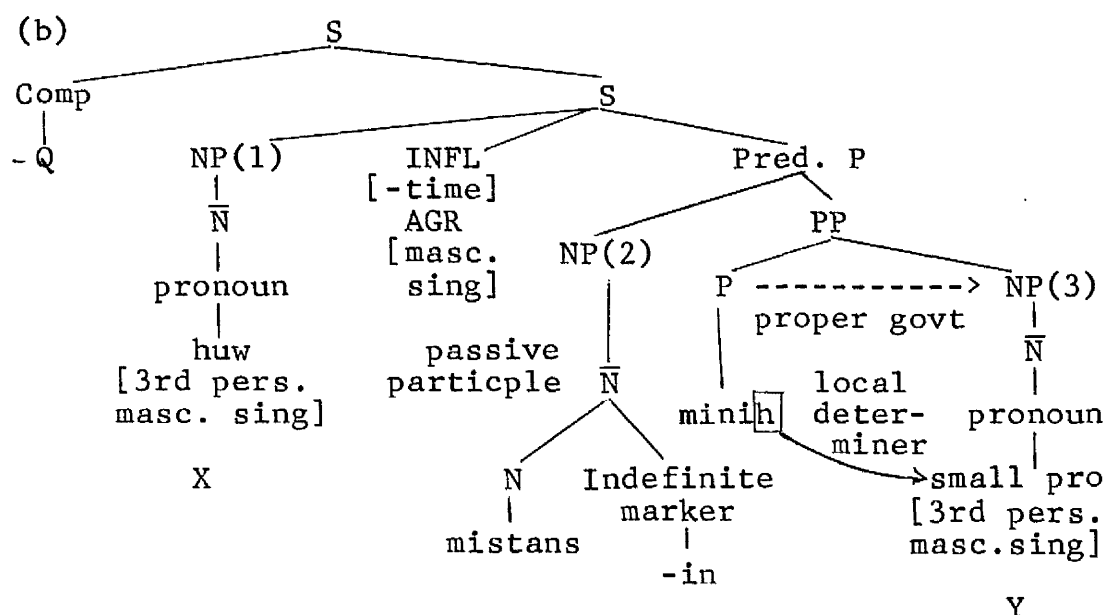
(viii) /huw mistansin minkum/

He is pleased with you (pl).

Taking sentences (5) (i) and (iii) as examples, we have the following S-structures, which demonstrate that these sentences are not reflexive:

(6)





S-structures (6) demonstrate that NP(3) is not bound to NP(1) because NP(3) does not have the reflexive clitic ie /nafs + pronominal suffix/. These S-structures also demonstrate that NP(3) is a complement small pro that is locally determined by the pronominal suffix carried by the preposition that properly governs it. Prepositions are associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, which are characterized by the /-ni/ form for first person and singular pronominal as illustrated by S-structure (a). And a preposition that has a pronominal suffix locally determines the generation of a complement small pro that subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions, and not principle (A). This is

because such a small pro is not governed by a reflexive clitic.

The above analysis of reflexivity in D.A.D. nominal sentences demonstrates that its reflexivity is indicated by a nominal clitic since the nominal sentence has no VP category at any level in its syntactic representation. It also demonstrates that small pro in D.A.D. syntax subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions only when it is governed by a reflexive clitic, as exemplified by /nafs + pronominal suffix/. Therefore, the reflexive anaphor in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is a small pro that is governed by /nafs + pronominal suffix/ and locally determined by its pronominal suffix.

1.4.2.1.2: Reflexivity in Verbal Sentences:

Reflexivity in the D.A.D. verbal sentence is also indicated by a reflexive clitic but this clitic, as mentioned earlier, is a verbal affix. It is the presence of this affix (ie the reflexive clitic) that distinguishes between a reflexive verb and a transitive verb. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Non reflexive verbal sentences:

(a) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /yigahhuun innaas/ They coffee the people.
- (ii) /yilabbisuun ʕiylaanhum/
They dress their children.
- (iii) /yizayyanuun ilbeet lilʕirs/
They decorate the house for the wedding.
- (iv) /tilabbis ilbizrah/
She dresses the child.

(b) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /gahhawu innaas/
They coffeed the people.
- (ii) /labbasuw ʕiylaanhum/
They dressed their children.
- (iii) /zayyanuw ilbeet/
They decorated the house.
- (iv) /labbisit ilbizrah/
She dressed the child.

(2) Reflexive verbal sentences:

(A) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

I. the verb /zayyan/:

- (i) /ʔa ta zayyan/ I decorate myself.
- (ii) /ni ta zayyan/ We decorate ourselves.

(iii) /ti ta zayyaniin/ You (fem. sing) decorate yourself.

(iv) /ti ta zayyan/ You (masc. sing) decorate yourself.

(v) /ti ta zayyanuun/ You (pl) decorate yourselves.

(vi) /yi ta zayyan/ He decorates himself.

(vii) /ti ta zayyan/ She decorates herself.

(viii) /yi ta zayyanuun/ They decorate themselves

II. other verbs:

(i) /yi ta gahhuun/ They coffee themselves.

(ii) /yi ta labbisuun/ They dress themselves.

(iii) /ni ta tayyab lilçirs/ We fix ourselves for the wedding.

(B) With Perfective Verb Forms:

I. the verb /zayyan/:

(i) /ta zayyant/ I decorated myself.

(ii) /ta zayyanna/ We decorated ourselves.

(iii) /ta zayyant/ You (masc. sing) decorated yourself.

(iv) /ta zayyanti/ You (fem. sing) decorated yourself.

- (v) /ta zayyantuun/ You (pl) decorated yourselves.
- (vi) /ta zayyan/ He decorated himself.
- (vii) /ta zayyanit/ She decorated herself.
- (viii) /ta zayyanuw/ They decorated themselves.

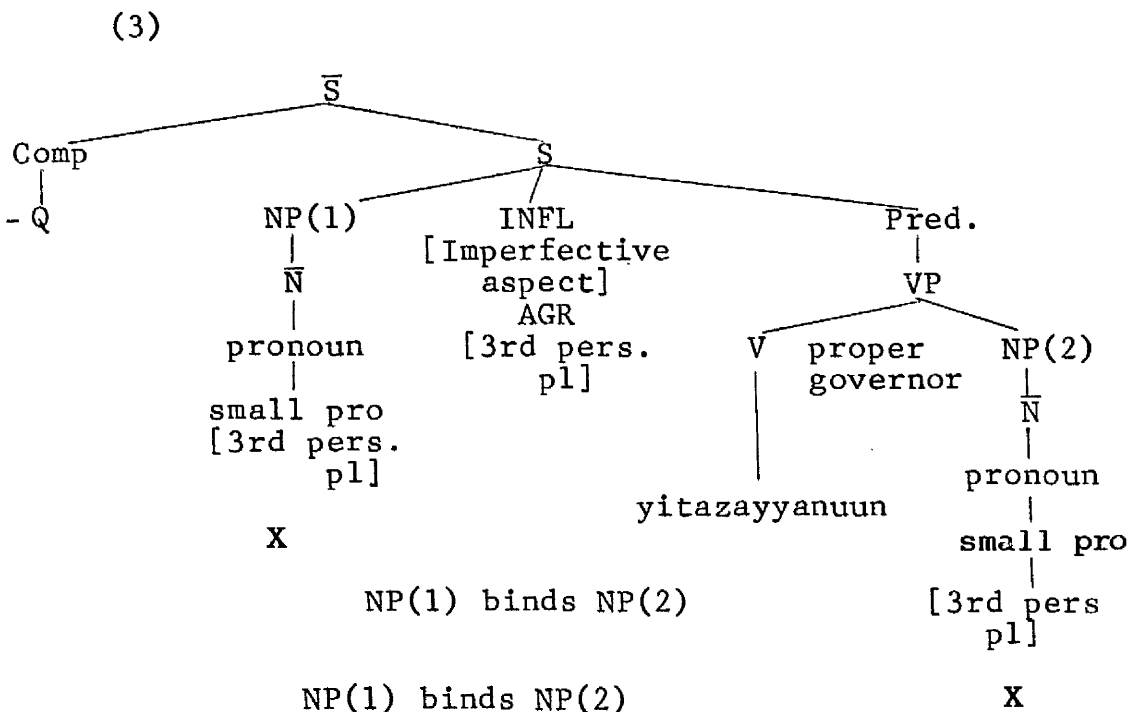
II. other verbs:

- (i) /ta gahhuw/ They coffeed themselves.
- (ii) /ta labbasuw/ They dressed themselves.
- (iii) /ta tayyabuw lilçirs/ They fixed themselves for the wedding.

The verbs in sentences (1) are transitive whereas those of sentences (2) are reflexive, the latter verb of which is indicated by the verbal affix /-ta-/. And it is the presence of this verbal affix ie /-ta-/ that is incompatible with an NP object at the surface structure of the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentence. This is verified by sentences (2), in which there is no NP object at the surface structure. On the other hand, sentences (1) have an NP object at the surface structure because they do not have the verbal affix /-ta-/.

Despite the fact that sentences (2) do not have an NP object at their surface structure, yet the verbal affix /-ta-/ triggers a semantic interpretation rule

that states that the "agent" and the "patient" of these verbs are one and the same entity. But if we assign the same argument two different θ roles, we violate the θ -criterion. Therefore, we cannot assume that the NP subject of the reflexive verb is assigned both the θ role "agent" and that of "patient". As a result, the following S-structure is proposed for sentence (2)(A) I (viii):



S-structure (3) demonstrates that there is a complement *small pro* generated in NP(2) and it is bound to NP(1) (ie the NP subject) because it is governed by a verb with a reflexive clitic (ie /-ta-/). The assump-

tion that there is a subject small pro as well as a complement small pro in the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentences does not violate the θ criterion because the subject small pro is assigned the θ role "agent" and the complement small pro is assigned the θ role "patient". The subject small pro is locally determined by AGR of the D.A.D. verbal sentence, as shown earlier. As for the complement small pro of a reflexive verb, it is locally determined by the verbal affix /-ta-/. This verbal affix indicates that there is a complement small pro that is coreferential with its NP subject; therefore, the verbal affix /-ta-/ locally determines the generation of a complement small pro with the very same features as those of its NP subject.

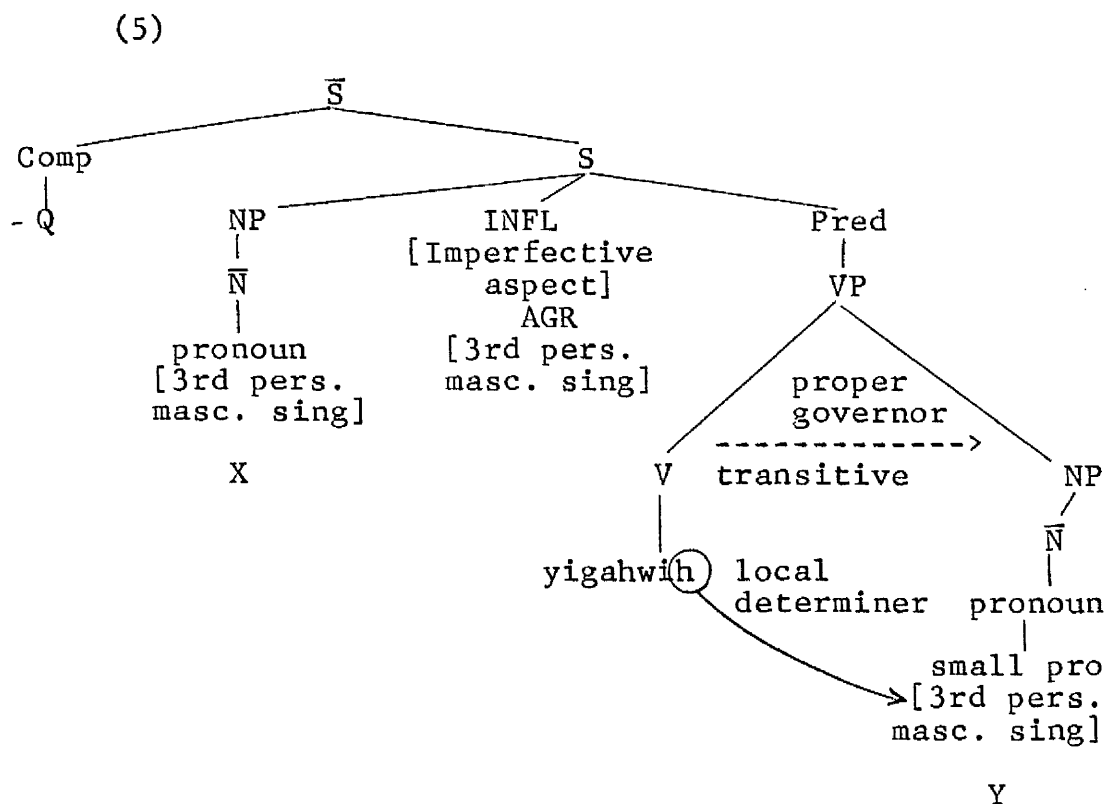
This S-structure also demonstrates that small pro is the reflexive anaphor of the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentence; that is, this small pro subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions because it is governed by a reflexive clitic. But the reflexive clitic in this case is a verbal affix because it is a verbal sentence. Therefore, the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentence differs from the nominal reflexive sentence in its reflexive clitic but not in its reflexive anaphor. The difference

is due to the fact that the D.A.D. verbal sentence has a VP category at every level of its syntactic representation whereas the nominal sentence has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representation.

As with the nominal reflexive sentences, the D.A.D. verbal reflexive sentences are just a set within a wider set; therefore, with the deletion of the verbal reflexive affix ie /-ta-/, we have non-reflexive sentences. And when the transitive verb has a pronominal suffix of the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, a complement small pro that subsumes to principles (B) of the binding condition is generated. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structures:

(4)

- (a) /yigahwih/ He coffees him.
 X Y
- (b) /yilabbisih/ He dresses him.
 X Y
- (c) /yizayyanih/ He decorates him.
 X Y



The complement small pro in S-structure (5) ie NP(2) is not bound to NP(1) because it is governed by a transitive verb, and not a reflexive verb. The features of this complement small pro are locally determined by the verbal suffix ie /-h/, which indicates that this complement small pro has the features 3rd pers, masculine and singular and that it subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions. Therefore, a complement small pro subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions only if it is governed by a reflexive verb. But

when it is governed by a transitive verb, it subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions.

Apart from not violating the θ -criterion, the assumption that the verbal reflexive sentence has a coreferential complement small pro with its NP subject at S-structure also helps in maintaining a uniform subcategorization frame for each verb whether it be transitive or reflexive. For example, verbs like /zayyan/ "to decorate" and /yigahwi/ "to coffee" are verbs that require a complement whether they are transitive or reflexive. When they are in the transitive form, their complement is either a nominal or a pronominal that subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions.¹ And when they are in the reflexive form, their complement is a pronominal that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions.² The small pro that is governed by the transitive verb is locally determined by the pronominal suffix that is carried by the verb and that belongs to the verbal set of pronominal suffixes. As for the small pro that is governed by the reflexive verb, it is locally determined by the reflexive affix /-ta-/, re-

¹See sentences (1) and (4) for examples pp 289 & 294

²See S-structure (3) p. 292.

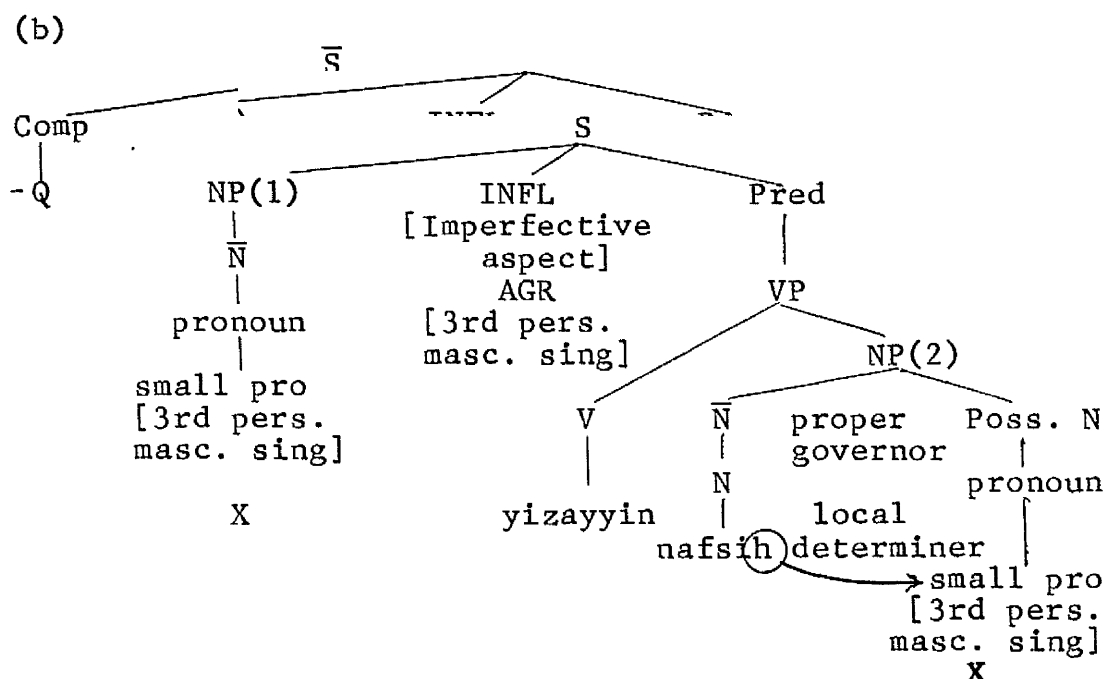
quiring it to have the same features as its NP subject since it is coreferential with it.

By p^uāsing for a little while and looking at another Arabic dialect ie Egyptian Arabic,¹ we can see the feasibility of the assumption that the reflexive verb in D.A.D. has a coreferential complement to its NP subject. In Egyptian Arabic (ie EA), the verbal reflexive sentence as well as the nominal reflexive sentence has /nafs + pronominal suffix/. This is demonstrated by the following verbal sentence and its S-structure, taken from Egyptian Arabic:

(6)

(a) /yizayyin nafsih/ He fixes himself up.

¹Egyptian Arabic happens to be the native dialect of the researcher.



As EA has no reflexive verb, it has /nafs + pronominal suffix/ also in the verbal sentence and it locally determines the generation of a small pro that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions. But as D.A.D. does have a reflexive verb, the reflexive affix itself locally determines the generation of a small pro that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding condition. In either case, however, the verb does have a complement that is coreferential with its NP subject. But /nafs + pronominal suffix/ in D.A.D. has been restricted to nominal reflexive sentences and it is incompatible with the /-ta-/ affix in the verbal reflexive sentences.

This is verified by the following ill-formed sentences
in D.A.D.:

(7)

(a) */yizayyin nafsih lilçirs/

He decorates himself for the wedding.

(b) */yigahuun nafsihum/

They coffee themselves.

(c) */yitazayyanuun nafsikum lilʔirs/

They decorate themselves for the wedding.

Sentences (a) + (b) are ill-formed in D.A.D. syntax because they have /nafs + pronominal suffix/ and the verb form does not have the reflexive affix ie /-ta-/. As for sentence (c), it is also ill-formed because it has /nafs + pronominal suffix/ in addition to the reflexive affix /-ta-/.

1.4.2.2: An Analysis of Reciprocity in D.A.D. Syntax:

There are features in certain sentences, both nominal and verbal, that make the recognition of reciprocal sentences necessary. The nominal sentences require a plural subject, a participle and an invariable prepositional phrase ie /biba~~ʒ~~ʒ/ . The verbal sentences require the verbal affix /-ta-/ and an overt anaphor, which is the invariable nominal /ba~~ʒ~~ʒ/ .

1.4.2.2.1: Reciprocity in Nominal Sentences:

For the generation of the D.A.D. reciprocal Nominal sentence, we need the following base rule:

(1)

- (i) S --> NP(1) INFL Pred. P
- (ii) NP(1) --> [+ plural]
- (iii) INFL --> [+ plural]
- (iv) Pred. P --> NP(2) PP
- (v) NP(2) --> participle
- (vi) PP --> P NP(3)
- (vii) P --> /bi/
- (viii) NP(3) --> /baçð/

The above base rule generates the following nominal reciprocal sentences:

(2)

- (a) /(?inhin) mistansiin/ bi baçð /
(hinna)
We are pleased with each other.
- (b) /intum mistansiin/ bi baçð /
You (pl) are pleased with each other.
- (c) /hum mistansiin/ bi baçð /
They are pleased with each other.
- (a) /(?inhin) şaayşiin/ bi baçð /
(hinna)
- (a) /(?inhin) şaayşiin/ bi baçð /
(hinna)

We are happy with each other.

(b) /ʔintum šaayšiin/ bi baçð

You (pl) are happy with each other.

(c) /hum šaayšiin bi baʒɔ/

They are happy with each other.

(4)

(a) /(?inhin) faarihiin bi baʕə/
(hinna)
We are joyful with each other.

{hinṇa}

We are joyful with each other.

(b) /ʔintum faarihiin bi baçə baçə

You (p1) are joyful with each other.

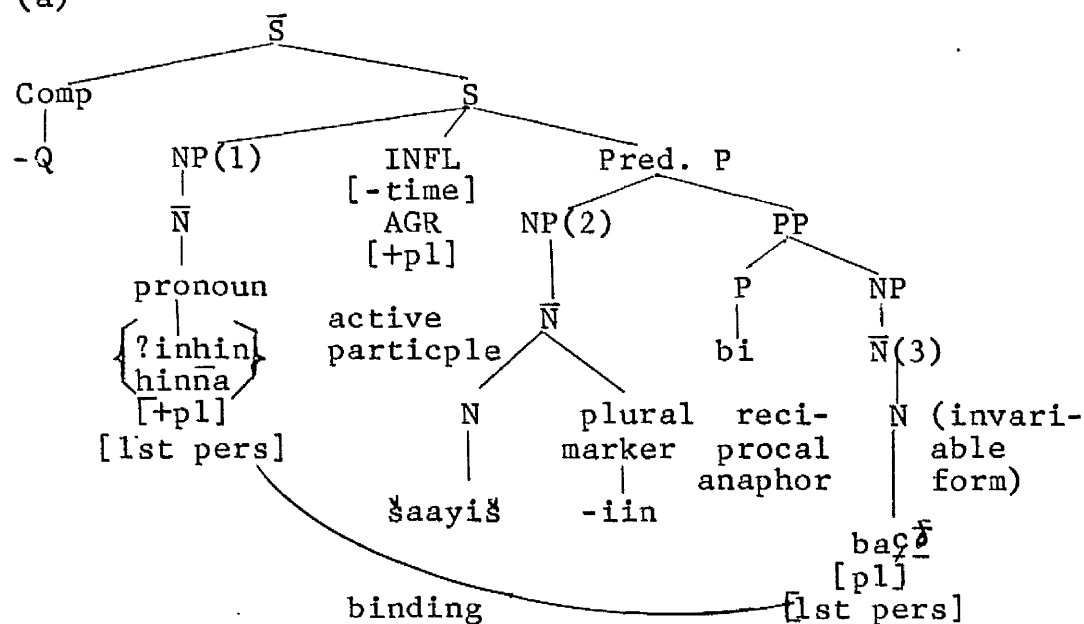
(c) /hum faarihiin bi baqo/

They are joyful with each other.

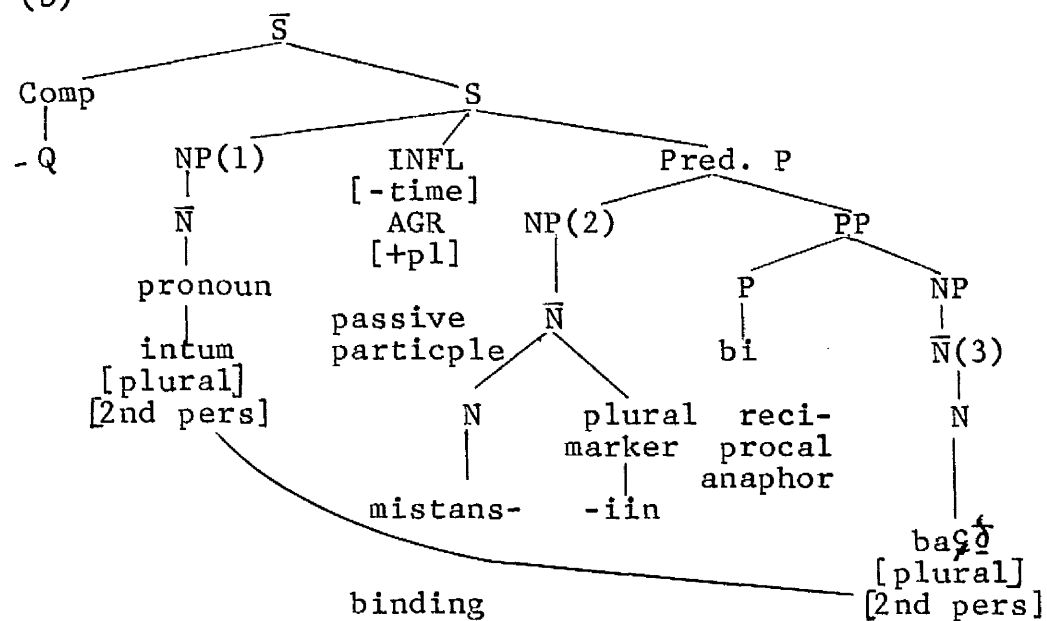
Taking sentences (2)(b) and (3)(a) as examples, we have the following S-structures:

(5)

(a)



(b)



NP(1) binds NP(3)

As these S-structures demonstrate, reciprocity in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is indicated by the anaphor /baɣ^f_{ɔ̃}/, which is bound to its plural NP subject and introduced by the preposition /bi/. Despite the fact that /baɣ^f_{ɔ̃}/ has an invariable form, it acquires, as indicated in S-structure (a), the features first person plural by its binder ie NP(1) and in S-structure (b) the features second person plural by its binder ie NP(1). As a matter of fact, it is its invariable form that allows the analyst to maintain that it is an anaphor and not a reciprocal clitic. This is due to the fact that the clitic, as demonstrated by the reflexive clitics afore mentioned, has access to a pronominal affix that functions as the local determiner for the generation of an anaphor and which is, in the above mentioned cases, a small pro that subsumes to principle (A) of the binding conditions. And as /baɣ^f_{ɔ̃}/ has no pronominal affix that may function as the local determiner for a small pro, it itself is the anaphor. This differentiates between reciprocity and reflexivity in D.A.D. syntax: reciprocity is expressed by an overt anaphor ie /baɣ^f_{ɔ̃}/ whereas reflexivity is expressed by an anaphor that is an empty

category and that is locally determined by pronominal affixes carried by the reflexive clitic.

As with the D.A.D. nominal reflexive sentences, the nominal reciprocal sentence is also just a set out of a wider set of data. This is illustrated by the following nominal sentences:

(6)

- (a) /{?inhin} mistansiin bilbint/
 {hinna }
 We are pleased with the girl.
- (b) /{?inhin} mistansiin biiha/
 {hinna }
 We are pleased with her.
- (c) /{?inhin} mistansiin biihum/
 {hinna }
 We are pleased with them.
- (d) /{?inhin} mistansiin biba~~ʕ~~^ʕ/
 {hinna }
 We are pleased with each other.

In all of the above sentences of (6), there is a plural NP subject; a participle as the head of the predicate phrase and a prepositional phrase with the preposition /bi/. It is only in sentence (d) that the complement of the preposition is coreferential with its NP subject and this is because the complement of this preposition is a reciprocal anaphor ie /ba~~ʕ~~^ʕ/.

1.4.2.2.2: Reciprocity in Verbal Sentences:

Reciprocity in D.A.D. verbal sentences is realized by the verbal affix /-ta-/ as well as the reciprocal anaphor ie /baʒɔ̃/. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(a) Sentences with Imperfective Verb Forms:

(i) /yi^{ta}tatugguun/ baʒɔ̃//

They beat each other.

(ii) /ni^{ta}tatugg/ baʒɔ̃//

We beat each other.

(iii) /ti^{ta}tatugguun/ baʒɔ̃//

You (pl) beat each other.

(b) With Perfective Verb Forms:

(i) /^{ta}tatuggeena/ baʒɔ̃//

We beat each other.

(ii) /^{ta}tatuggeetu/ baʒɔ̃//

You (pl) beat each other.

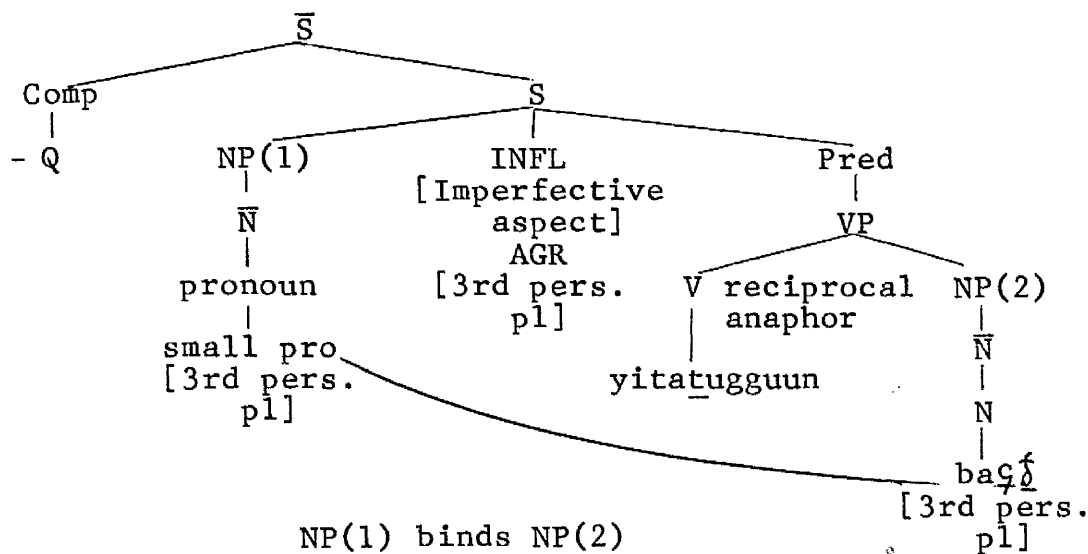
(iii) /^{ta}tatugguw/ baʒɔ̃//

They beat each other.

Just as with the reflexive verbal sentences, in the reciprocal verbal sentences the imperfective verb has /-ta-/ as an inflex and in the perfective verb as a prefix.

But with the reciprocal verbal sentences, there is also /baç^f_δ/ as the reciprocal anaphor. That is, it can be said that reciprocity in the D.A.D. verbal sentence is expressed by a discontinuous morpheme that is composed of the verbal affix /-ta-/ and the overt anaphor /baç^f_δ/. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(A)(i), in which NP(2) is bound by NP(1).

(2)



/baç^f_δ/, being an argument,¹ is the anaphor that is bound in its governing category. As for the verbal affix /-ta-/, it is simply the binding agent, indicating that NP(2) is bound by NP(1). When this binding agent

¹/baç^f_δ/ literally means "some".

(ie /-ta-/ in the verb form) does not occur with /baçđ/, it indicates reflexivity. But when it does cooccur with /baçđ/, it indicates reciprocity and in such a case /baçđ/ is open to taking its agreement from its binder despite the fact that it has an invariable form.

The D.A.D. verbal reciprocal sentences are also just a set out of a wider set of data. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

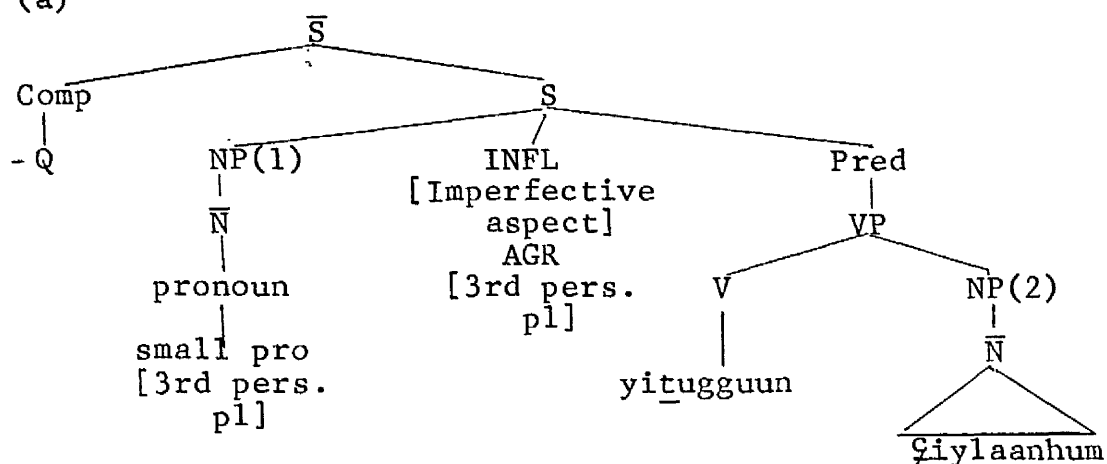
(3)

- (a) /yitugguun řiylaanhum/ They beat their children.
- (b) /yitugg ilbizrah/ He beats the child.
- (c) /yituggaha/ He beats her.
- (d) /yitatugguun baçđ/ They beat each other.

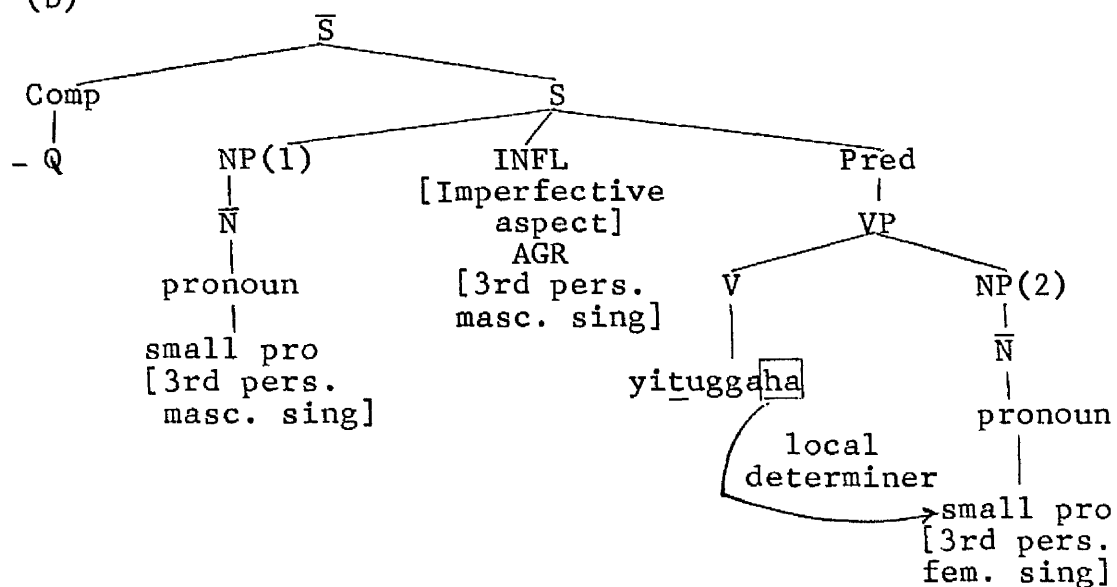
Taking sentences (3)(a) and (c) as examples, we have the following S-structures, in which the verb /yitugg/ "to beat" is subcategorized for an NP complement.

(4)

(a)



(b)



This NP (ie NP(2) as shown by S-structure (4)) is not bound by NP(1) because there is no binding agent ie the verb form does not have the verbal affix $/-ta-/$. On the other hand, sentence (d) (as demonstrated by S-structure

(2)) has NP(2) bound by NP(1) because it has a binding agent ie the /-ta-/ verbal affix. And as it also has /baʒɛ/ as the anaphor, the binding of NP(2) by NP(1) is that of reciprocity, and not reflexivity.

The above analysis of reflexivity and reciprocity in D.A.D. syntax not only maintains a uniform subcategorization frame for each lexical item but also does not violate the θ -criterion, which is a basic principle in θ -theory. It has also shown that both reflexivity and reciprocity in the D.A.D. sentential configuration, whether nominal or verbal, subsume at a more abstract level (ie at S-structure) to the binding conditions. This is due to the fact that they have anaphors that are bound in their governing categories. However, at the surface level, it is not only the reciprocal sentence that differs from the reflexive sentence but also the nominal sentence whether reflexive or reciprocal also differs from the verbal sentence. The nominal sentence has the reflexive clitic /nafs + pronominal suffix/ for the indication of reflexivity and the reciprocal anaphor /baʒɛ/ for the indication of reciprocity. As for the verbal sentence, it has the binding agent, ie the /-ta-/ verbal affix, for the indication of reflexivity and /-

ta-/ as well as the reciprocal anaphor /ba₇o⁸/ for the indication of reciprocity.

1.4.3: The Rules for Case in D.A.D. syntax

If we look at the Case system in D.A.D. syntax, we find that it too demonstrates the autonomy of the nominal sentence from the verbal sentence. This is because the NP subject and its predicate in the D.A.D. nominal sentence are both assigned nominative Case whereas in the verbal sentence, it is only the NP subject that is assigned nominative Case. This difference in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is due to the fact that it has no VP category. That is, as the nominal sentence has no VP category, it does not have V as one of its Case assigners, therefore, the NP predicate is assigned Case by INFL, which is the governor of both the NP subject and its NP predicate. Accordingly, both NPs in the D.A.D. nominal sentence are assigned nominative Case.

Before embarking on the details of the Case assignment rules in D.A.D. syntax, we would like to draw the attention of the reader to the important role played by Case in its syntactic system. Case, for example, is one of the distinctive features in D.A.D. between the NP category and the VP category. This is because it distinguishes between the NP category and the VP category despite the fact that both categories in D.A.D. convey

time. That is, the temporal NP conveys the time distinctions of present, past and future perspectives and the VP category conveys perfective and imperfective aspects, all of which convey time in the broad sense. Nevertheless, it is only the NP category that is associated with Case.

Case in D.A.D. is also useful in distinguishing between a matrix clause and an embedded clause. This is because it is only the embedded clause that is dominated by an NP and in turn it is assigned Case, on the basis of which it is also assigned a θ role at LF. That is, an embedded clause is assigned a θ role, apart from the θ roles that are assigned to the NPs generated in that embedded clause. As for the matrix clause, it is not assigned a θ role because it is not dominated by an NP, which allows it to be assigned Case and in turn to be made visible at LF. Therefore, the NPs in a matrix clause are θ marked but the matrix clause as a whole is not because it is not visible at LF for θ marking. And the non-visibility of the matrix clause at LF is because it does not have Case.

Finally, Case also differentiates between the D.A.D. nominal and the verbal because it is only the

former that is associated with Case, which it acquires by means of its dominating NP. This not only demonstrates that Case is the property of the syntax, and not the lexicon, but also that Case is associated with all the D.A.D. nominals because they are generated in the NP category. In this respect, Case unifies all the members of the subclasses of the D.A.D. nominal class because it represents the syntactic property of the D.A.D. noun that is shared by all the nominals. That is, despite the fact that the members of each subclass of the D.A.D. nominal class¹ are associated with syntactic properties pertaining to the noun in D.A.D. syntax, yet there is no specific property that they all share except Case; therefore, it is Case that represents the syntactic property of the D.A.D. noun that is shared by all the nominals. In turn, it differentiates between the D.A.D. nominals in general and the verbals ie the nominals have Case whereas the verbals do not.

Having viewed the importance of Case in D.A.D. syntax, we would like to look at some of the formal manifestations of Case in D.A.D. which may be demonstrated by

¹For a discussion of some of the nominals in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. syntax, see Part II.

looking at its pronominal system. The presence of Case in the D.A.D. pronominal system is formally manifested by the fact that there are several sets of pronominal forms, each set of which represents a different Case. There are basically three sets of pronominals that represent three different Cases. The first set to be discussed represents the free pronominal forms that are generated as the subject of verbal or nominal sentences i.e. in the prepredicate position of verbal and nominal sentences. This set has the following forms:

(1)

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	?ana	{?inhin} {hinna }
2nd person masc.	?inta	intum (common gender)
feminine	?inti	
3rd person masc	huw	hum (common gender)
fem	hiy	

The second set of pronominals in D.A.D. are pronominal suffixes that are carried by verbs and prepositions and that locally determine the generation of com-

plement small pro.¹ This set has the following pronominal suffixes:

(2)

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	/-ni/	/-na/
2nd person		
masc	/-k/	/-kum/
fem	/-ç/	
3rd person		
masc	/-h/	/-hum/
fem	/-ha/	

The third set of pronominals is also a set of pronominal suffixes but these pronominal suffixes are carried by nominals and function as the local determiners for the generation of a possessive small pro.² This set has the following pronominal suffixes:

(3)

<u>Person</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st person	/-i/	/-na/
2nd person		
masc.	/-k/	/-kum/
fem	/-ç/	

¹See Introduction pp. 98-107.

²See Introduction pp. 107-111.

3rd person		
masc	/-h/	
		/-hum/
fem	/-ha/	

It is clear from (2) and (3) that these pronominal suffixes are identical in form except as regards the form for the first person and singular pronominal. This difference, however, indicates that they form different sets and in turn each represents a different Case.

The set of pronominals in (3) represents possessive Case because they locally determine the generation of a small pro that holds a possessive relation to the nominal whose pronominal suffix locally determine its presence. The set of pronominals in (2), on the other hand, represents objective Case because they locally determine the generation of a complement small pro to both verbs and prepositions. As for the set of pronominals of (1), they represent nominative Case because they are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the prepredicate position of verbal and nominal sentences ie they are generated only as subjects. Therefore, by looking at the D.A.D. pronominal system, we have a formal manifestation of three Cases (ie nominative, objective and possessive) and it is on the analogy of the pronominal system that the same Cases are attributed

to the rest of the members of the nominal system in D.A.D. despite the fact that Case is not formally manifested in them.

In a few rare cases, however, the D.A.D. nominal has formal manifestation of Case. This is demonstrated by the D.A.D. temporal nominals /min hiina/ "from time immemorial until the present time" and /marran/ "sometimes". As both these temporal nominals are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the Comp A-position, the /-a/ suffix in /min hiina/ and /marran/ is assumed to be the Case marker of the Case assigned to NPs generated in the Comp A-position. And as the Comp A-position generates neither a subject nor a complement,¹ it is associated with a Case that has been called "oblique Case" as distinct from nominative, objective and possessive Cases.

Therefore, D.A.D. has a formal manifestation of four Cases: nominative, objective, possessive and oblique. The first three are formally manifested by its pronominal system and the last Case is formally mani-

¹It is not a complement because it is not governed by a V, P or an N and it is also not a subject because it does not control the agreement features of the predicate phrase in the sentence.

festated by a few examples of temporal nominals, which represent a subclass of the D.A.D. nominal class and one which represents a relic area in D.A.D. syntax. This is because temporal nominals demonstrate nominal properties some of which have been fossilized and amongst which is the presence of a Case marker in some temporal nominals such as /min hiina/ and /marran/.

1.4.3.1: The Assignment of Case to NPs generated in the
D.A.D. Sentence

Both S node and Comp. in the sentences of D.A.D. generate NPs. When S node is verbal, the Case assignment rules are the same as those adopted by Chomsky (1981a) in his theory of Case. This is because the D.A.D. verbal S node is similar to that of English in the sense that it has a VP category; and consequently, the assignment of Case to the NPs in the D.A.D. verbal S node is discussed first since it involves the least modification to the above mentioned theory. Then the assignment of Case to the NPs generated in Comp. is discussed since they may be generated in both verbal and nominal sentences. And finally the assignment of Case to the NPs generated in the nominal S node is discussed, demonstrating that it involves some modification in the above theory since the nominal S node has no VP category.

1.4.3.1.1: The Assignment of Case to the NPs generated
in the verbal S node

In the verbal S node, an NP is assigned either nominative Case or objective Case, depending on its governor. Objective Case is assigned to NPs governed by either a V or a P. Nominative Case is assigned to NPs governed by INFL ie the NP subject. And as also INFL may be regarded as a [-N] governor since it is associated with verbal inflection in the verbal sentence, it can accordingly be maintained that all the Case assigners in the D.A.D. verbal S node are [-N] governors ie

$$V = \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ +V \end{bmatrix}; P = \begin{bmatrix} -N \\ -V \end{bmatrix}; \text{ and INFL is also } [-N].^1$$

In the analysis of the D.A.D. verbal S node, INFL itself has been regarded as the governor and Case assigner of its NP subject, rather than AGR. This not only allows all the Case assigners in the verbal S node to be [-N] governors but also allows us to have a uniform governor for the NP subject whether in the verbal S node or the nominal S node. That is, as some nominal

¹Despite the fact that INFL has AGR and AGR is a pronominal feature equal to Pro, yet INFL as a whole is a [-N] governor in the D.A.D. verbal sentence.

sentences do not have AGR and nevertheless always have INFL,¹ then INFL is the common governor of the NP subject in both the verbal and all the types of the nominal sentences. It is in this respect that INFL is regarded as the Case assigner of the NP subject in the verbal S node despite the fact that it always has AGR.

¹It is also to be noted that INFL in the nominal sentence is taken to be the abstraction of the time reference in the sentence and it is not in this respect a [-N] governor since time in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is indicated by a temporal NP, and not by the VP category, as shown earlier (See pp. 337-41 for a discussion of the assignment of Case in the nominal S node).

1.4.3.1.1.1: The Assignment of Nominative Case:

When the NP subject is in a preverbal position, it is governed by INFL, which assigns to it nominative Case. But when the NP subject has undergone the rule of "subject inversion", it is no longer governed by INFL, which still governs the trace of the moved subject. Therefore, the trace of the moved subject, which is an impersonal small pro, is assigned nominative Case and by way of it the moved subject itself is assigned nominative Case because it is coindexed with it.

The following sentences are examples of verbal sentences with an NP subject in preverbal position, in which case the NP subject is directly assigned Case by INFL.

(1)

(a) /il?awwaliin/ yakluun/

People of the older generation eat ie eat a lot.

(b) /ilwalad/ šaaf ilgatwah/

The boy saw the cat.

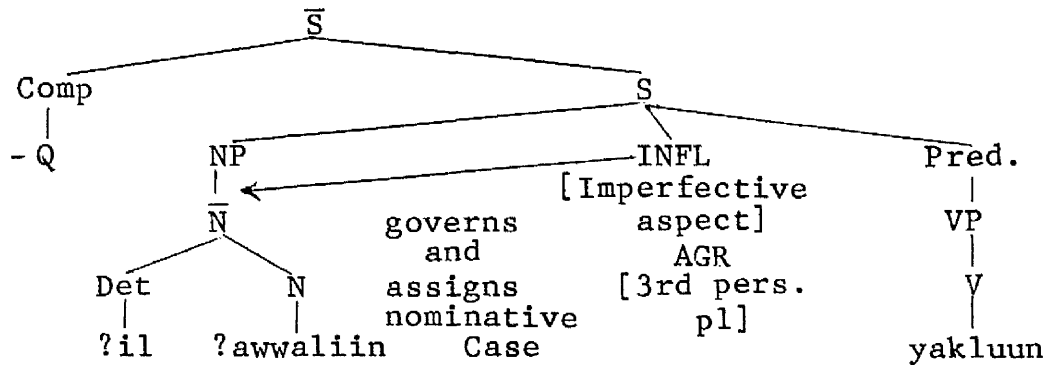
(c) /ittawaali/ yigruun/

The people of this generation read.

Being in the preverbal position at S-structure, the NP subjects in the above sentences are assigned Case by

means of their governor ie INFL. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (a):

(2)



The assignment of nominative Case to an NP subject in postverbal position is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(3)

(a) /yakluun /il?awwaliin/ ilgirsaan/

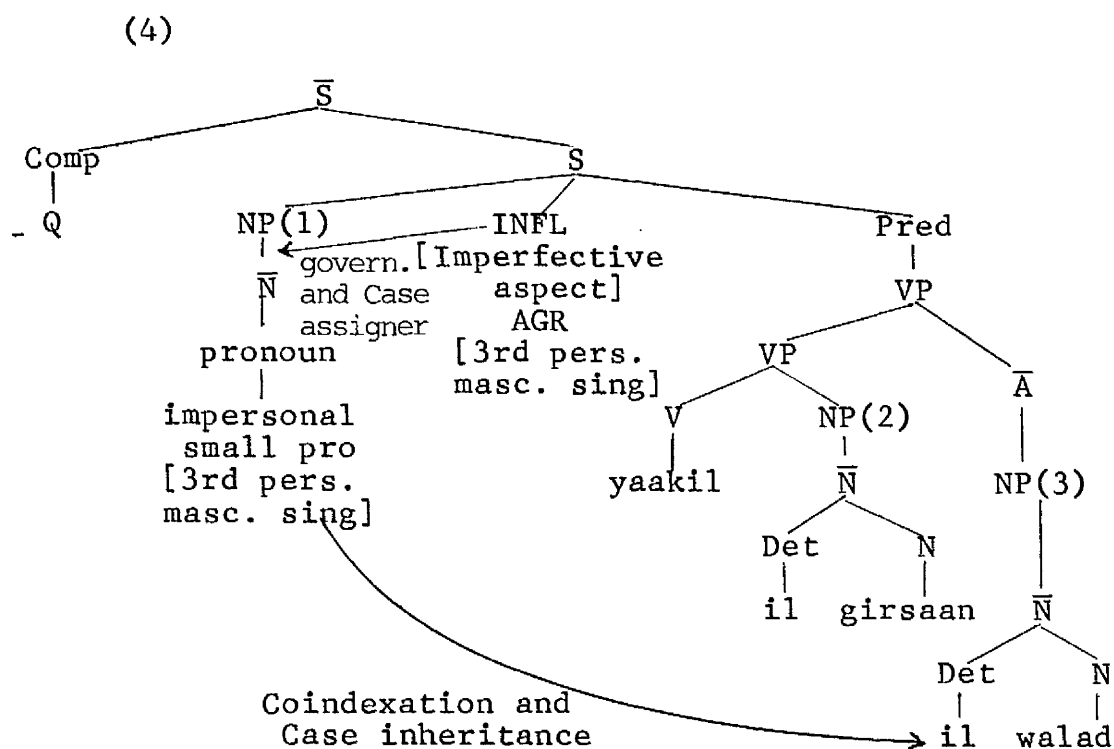
They eat (the people of the first) pies.

(b) /šaaf /ilwalad/ ilgatwah/

He saw (the boy) the cat.

(c) /?akal /ilwalad/ ittimeerah/

He ate (the boy) the date.



Even though NP(3) is not governed by INFL, it is assigned nominative Case by way of its trace, which is governed by INFL and shows agreement with the inverted subject. The trace of the moved subject is an impersonal small pro because it is not assigned a θ role, rather it is the postverbal subject that is assigned a θ role. In this, the researcher is following Chomsky (1981a) in making the preverbal subject a pleonastic element in order not to violate the θ criterion. She is

also following Chomsky in allowing the postverbal subject to inherit Case from its trace.

1.4.3.1.1.2: The Assignment of Objective Case:

Objective Case is assigned in D.A.D. syntax to the object NP governed by a V or a P.

1.4.3.1.1.2.1: The Assignment of Objective Case by V:

The following sentences are examples of sentences with an object NP that is governed by a verb:

(1)

(a) /il?awwaliin yakluun/lahim innajdiyyaat/

The first people eat the meat of goats.

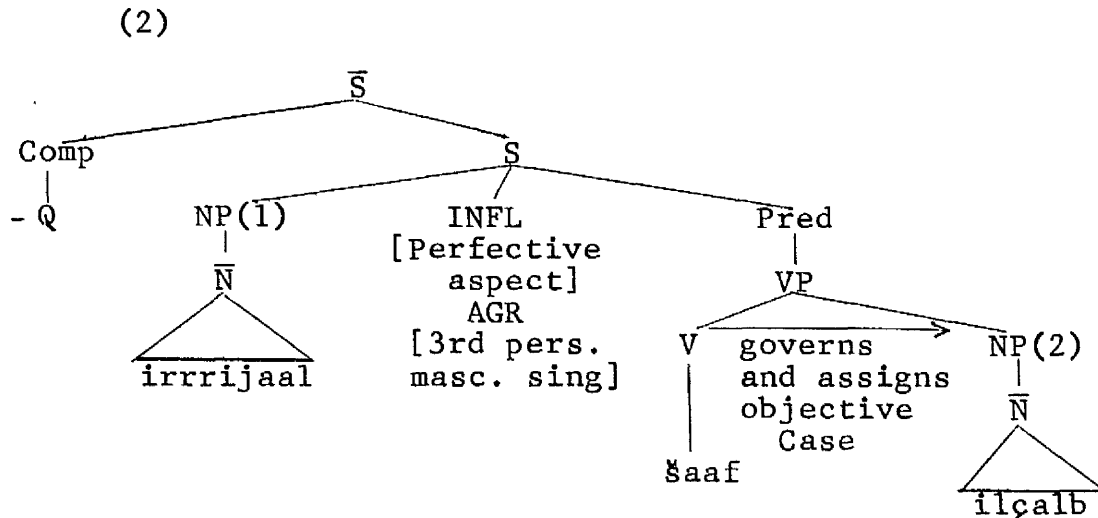
(b) /irrijaal šaaf/ilçalb/

The man saw the dog.

(c) /yijmaşuun/innaas/

They collect the people.

That the NP object in the above mentioned sentences is governed by the verb is demonstrated by the following S-structure of (b):



1.4.3.1.1.2.2: The Assignment of Objective Case by P:

The following sentences have object NPs that are governed by a preposition.

(1)

(a) /yijmaʕuun innaas fi**lbeet**/

They collect the people in the house.

(b) /raah l**ilbarr**/

He went to the field.

(c) /ma tiʕhar min**beetha**/

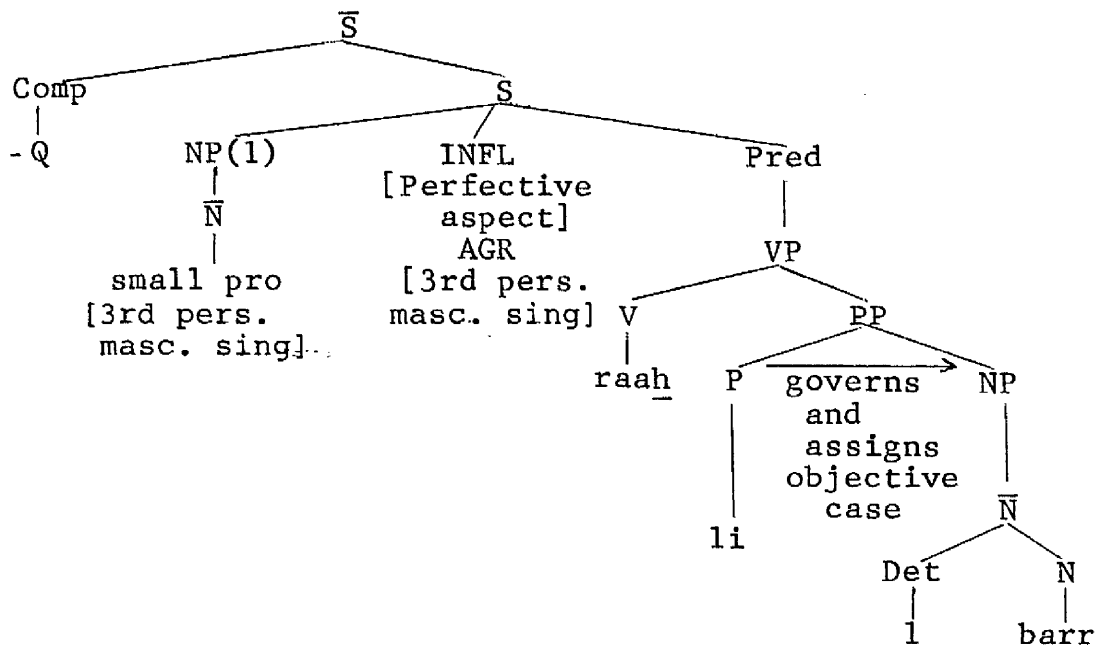
She does not go out of her house.

(d) /ma tiruuh l**ilnaas**/

She does not go to the people.

This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (b):

(2)

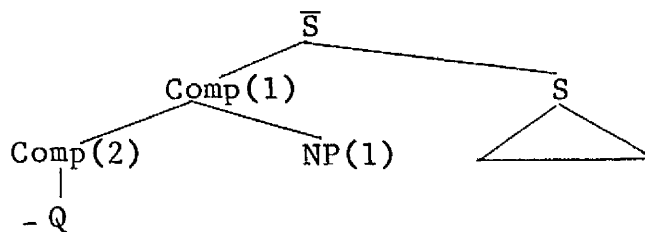


1.4.3.1.2: The Assignment of Case to the NP generated in
Comp whether verbal or nominal

In the Introduction, it was shown that an NP may be generated in the Comp of the D.A.D. sentential configuration. This NP may have a topic or a temporal; a topic and a temporal, or two temporals. This NP generated in Comp is generated in embedded as well as matrix clauses; therefore, it must be assigned Case by an element in Comp itself and not by an element in a higher clause.

Therefore, assuming that government for the sake of Case assignment requires "minimal c-command", it may be maintained that Comp(2) in the following diagram governs NP(1) and assigns to it oblique Case.

(1)



That is, an NP generated in Comp. of any D.A.D. sentence whether verbal or nominal is assigned oblique Case by Comp.(2).

The following sentences represent examples of NPs generated in Comp of D.A.D. sentences whether verbal or nominal.

(2)

(a) //?ilbint/ --> ma yišifuunha/

The girl, they do not see her.

(b) //?ilbint/ --> ma yišifuunha irrajajiil/

The girl, not they see her the men.

(c) //halhiin/ilbint/ --> yišifuunha/

Now the girl, they do see her.

- (d) //halhiin/issubih/--> yiruuh lilbarr/

Now in the morning, he goes to the field.

(3)

- (a) //halhiin/--> iddarçiyah barad/

Now, Darçiyah is cold.

- (b) //?iddarçiyah/--> fahiy barad/

Darçiyah, it is cold.

- (c) //halhiin/iddarçiyah/--> fahiy barad/

Now Darçiyah, it is cold.

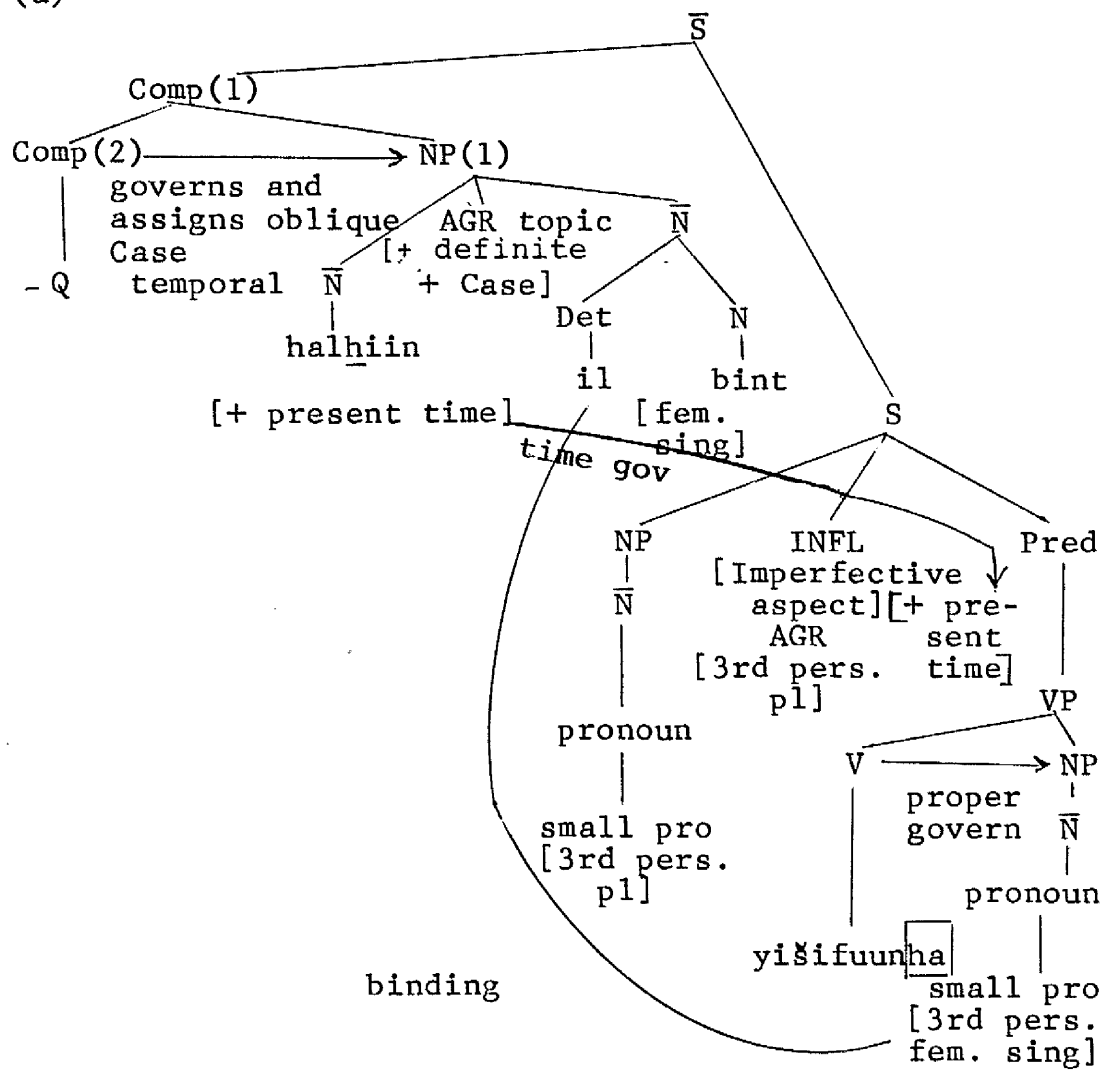
- (d) //halhiin issubih/--> iddarçiyah barad/

Now in the morning, Darçiyah is cold.

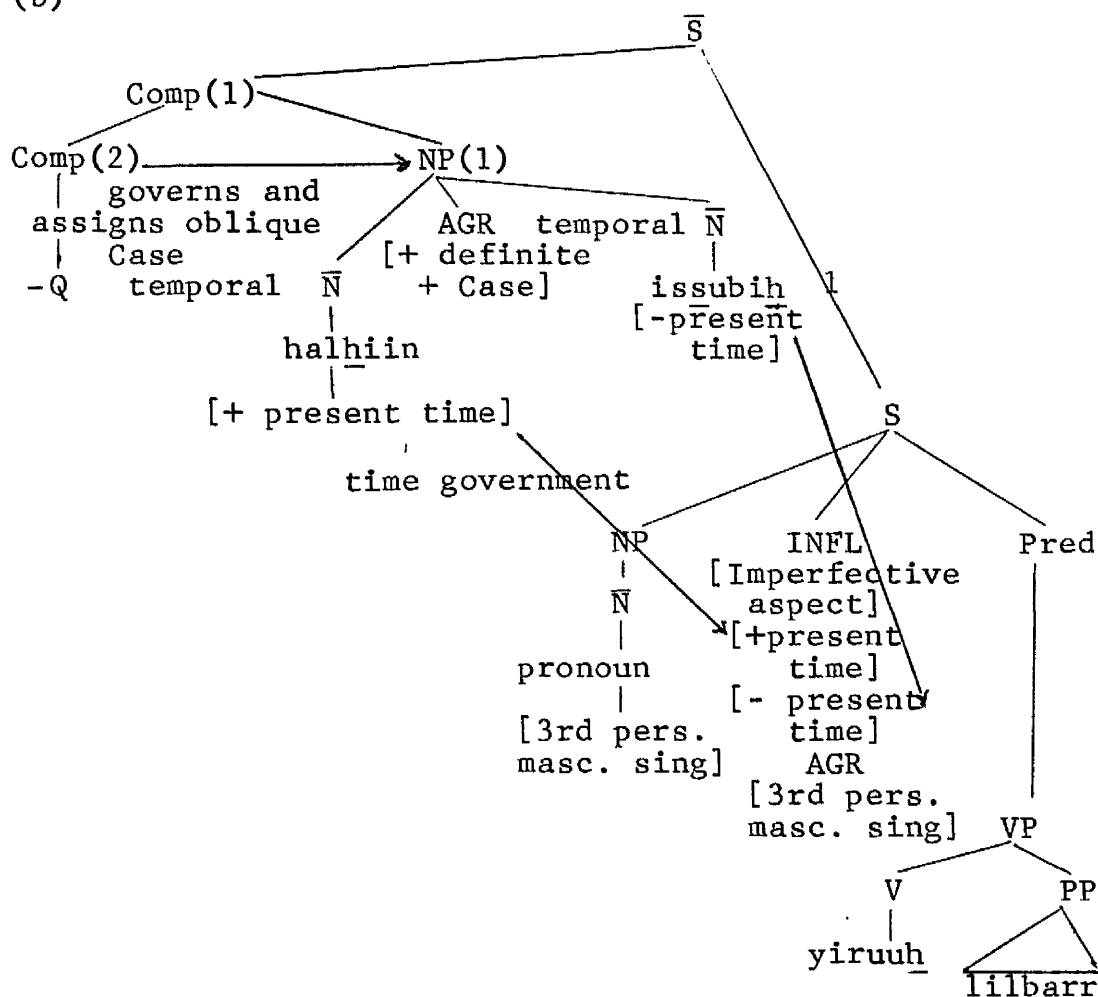
- Taking sentences (2) (c) + (d) as well as (3) (c) +
(d) as examples, we have the following S-structures:

(4)

(a)

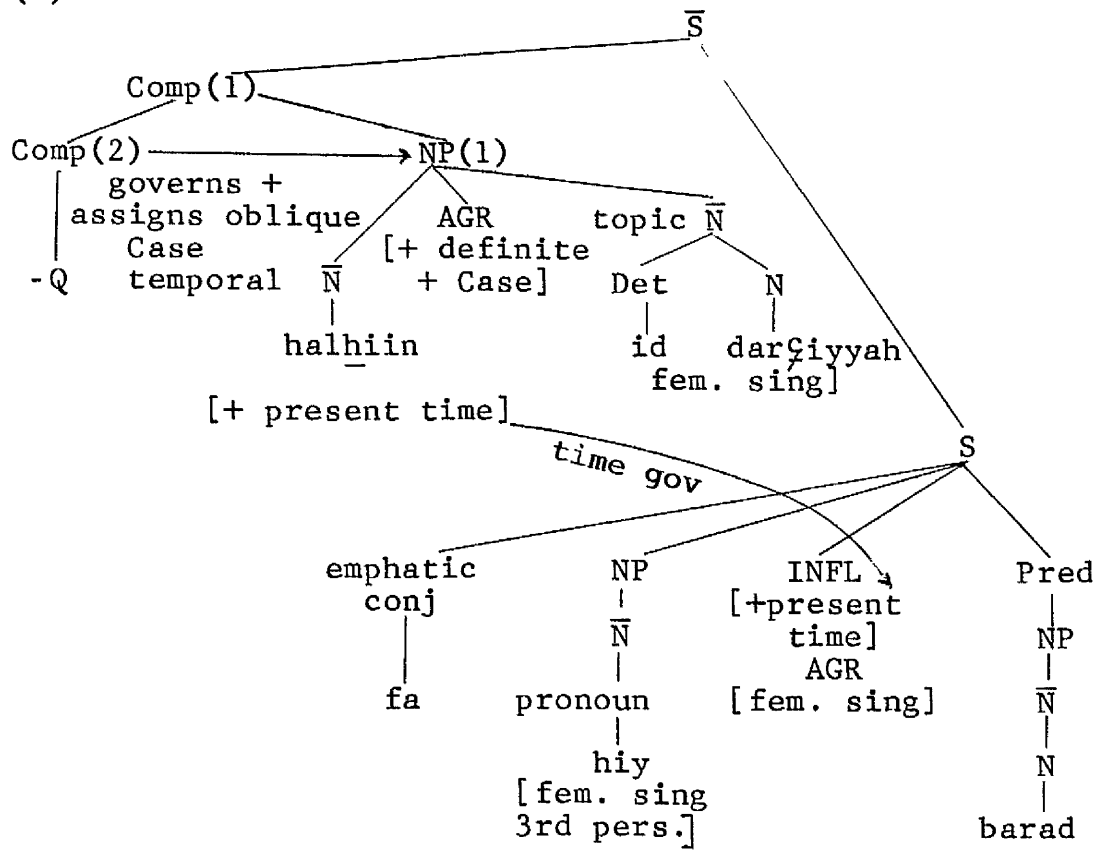


(b)

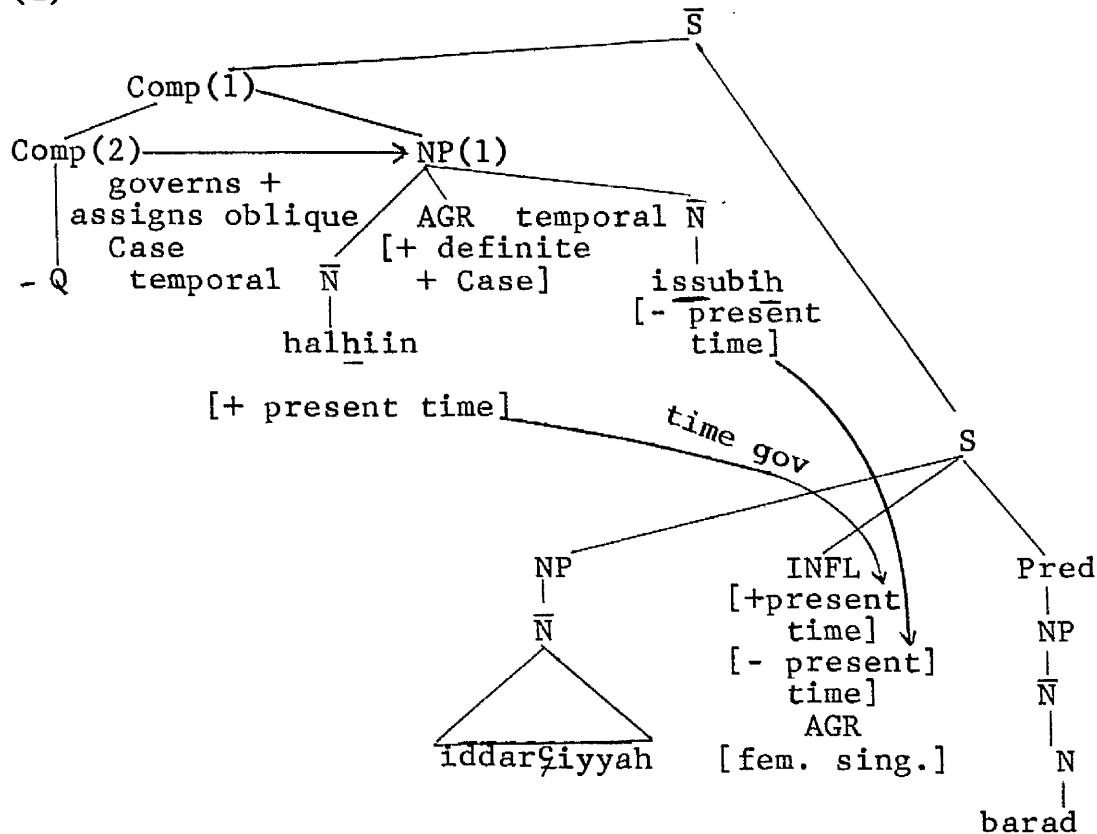


¹See pp. 541-60 of Chapter IV of Part II for a discussion of the temporal nominal /*issubih*/, which is associated with the syntactic feature [-present time].

(c)



(d)



As demonstrated by all of the S-structures of (4), $\text{Comp}(2)$ governs $\text{NP}(1)$; therefore, it assigns to it oblique Case. This Case percolates down to both nominals in $\text{NP}(1)$ because it is an NP with AGR.¹ Accordingly, both temporals in S-structures (b) + (d) and the

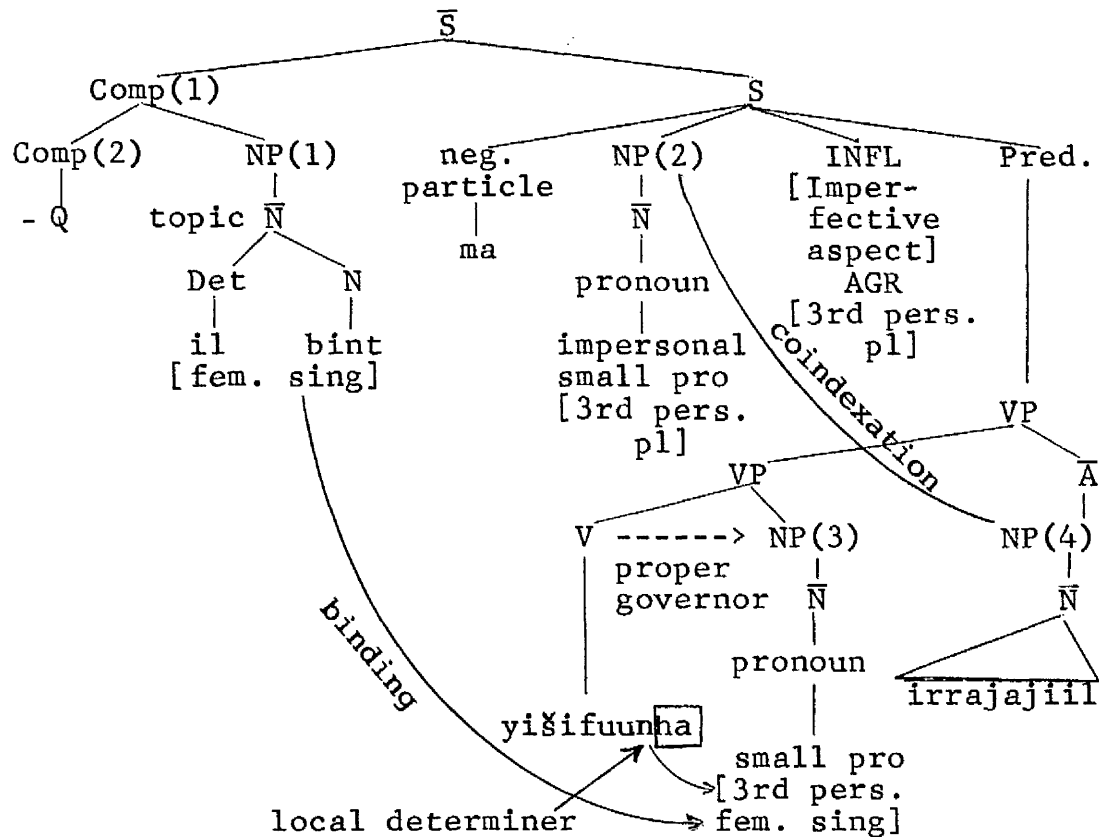
¹See pp.341-8 of Chapter IV of Part I for a discussion of Percolation in NPs with AGR.

temporal as well as the topic in S-structures (a) + (c) are assigned oblique Case by their dominating NP.

Apart from demonstrating that the NP in Comp. is assigned Case by Comp (2), S-structure 4 (a) also demonstrates that the topic has a different syntactic behaviour from the subject, ie, the subject controls the agreement features of the verb form whereas the topic does not. This is why the verb form has the features 3rd person plural whereas the topic is feminine singular. It is due to such differences between the topic and the subject that justify that the latter nominal should be assigned a different Case. And it is assigned a different Case from the subject because it is generated in the A-position in Comp., and not in the A-position in the preverbal position in S node.

Sentence (2)(b) and its following S-structure also verify the syntactic difference between the topic and the subject, ie, the subject subsumes to the rule of subject inversion, which moves it from preverbal position to a post verbal position, but the topic cannot be moved from Comp. because it binds an NP in S node:-

(5)



As $\text{NP}(1)$ is a topic, it cannot be moved from Comp , where it binds an NP in S node ie $\text{NP}(3)$. But as $\text{NP}(2)$ is the subject, it may be moved by the rule of subject inversion. It is moved to an adjunct position in postverbal position ie $\text{NP}(4)$. Therefore, as topics have a different syntactic behaviour from that of subjects, they are generated in different A-positions and are assigned different Cases. The topic is generated in the Comp . A-

position and assigned oblique Case whereas the subject is generated in the preverbal position in S node and is assigned nominative Case. It follows that each has a different governor; the subject is governed by INFL while the topic, along with the temporal, is governed by Comp(2).

1.4.3.2: The Assignment of Case to the NPs generated in
the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

D.A.D. nominal sentences are similar to verbal sentences in that they are composed of an S node and a Comp node. The NP generated in Comp of the D.A.D. nominal sentence is assigned oblique Case in the manner shown above. As for the NPs generated in the S node of nominal sentences, they require some modification in the Case Theory of Chomsky (1981a) because the D.A.D. nominal sentence does not have the VP category at any level of its syntactic representation; consequently, it does not have the Case assigner V.

The D.A.D. nominal sentence, however, has the governors AGR of INFL and P. But as both AGR and P are optional elements in the nominal sentence, it is only INFL that is the obligatory element in the D.A.D. nominal sentence and it is, accordingly, maintained that INFL in the D.A.D. nominal sentence with a predicate phrase that is an NP governs both its NP subject and its NP predicate and assigns to both NPs nominative Case. This is illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1)

(a) /ʔilwalad ʕaatir/

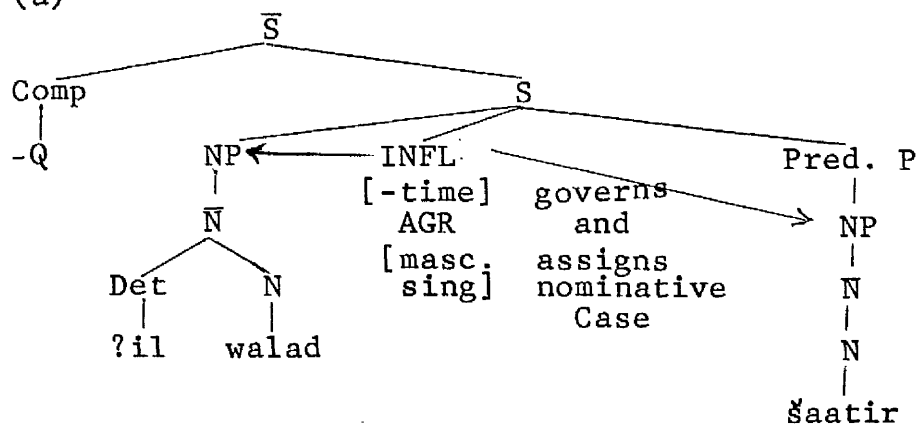
The boy is clever.

(b) /ʕindina beet/ Our possession is a house.

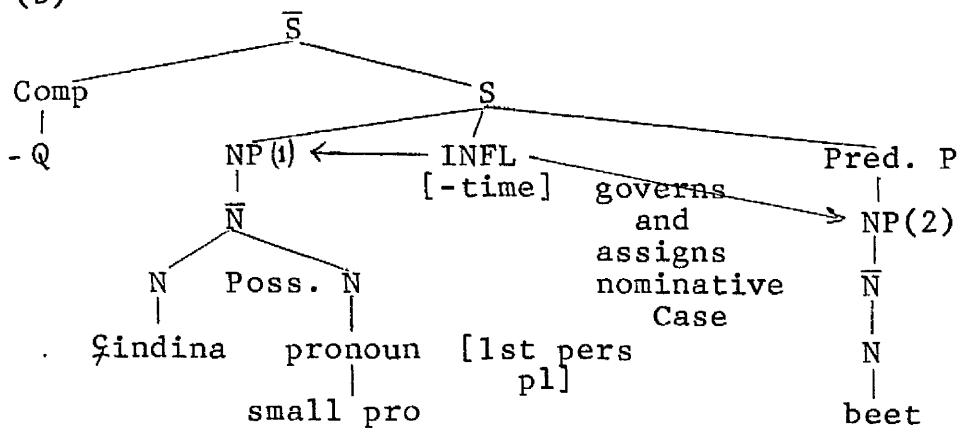
(c) /fih beet/ There is a house.

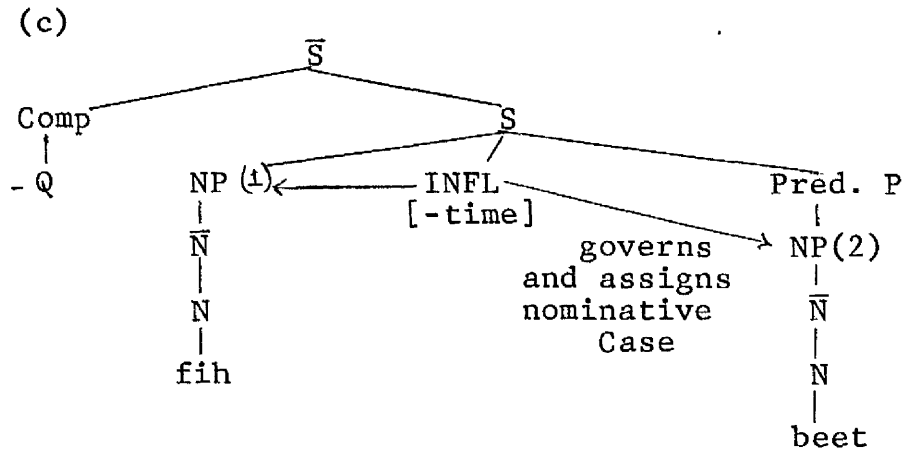
(2)

(a)



(b)



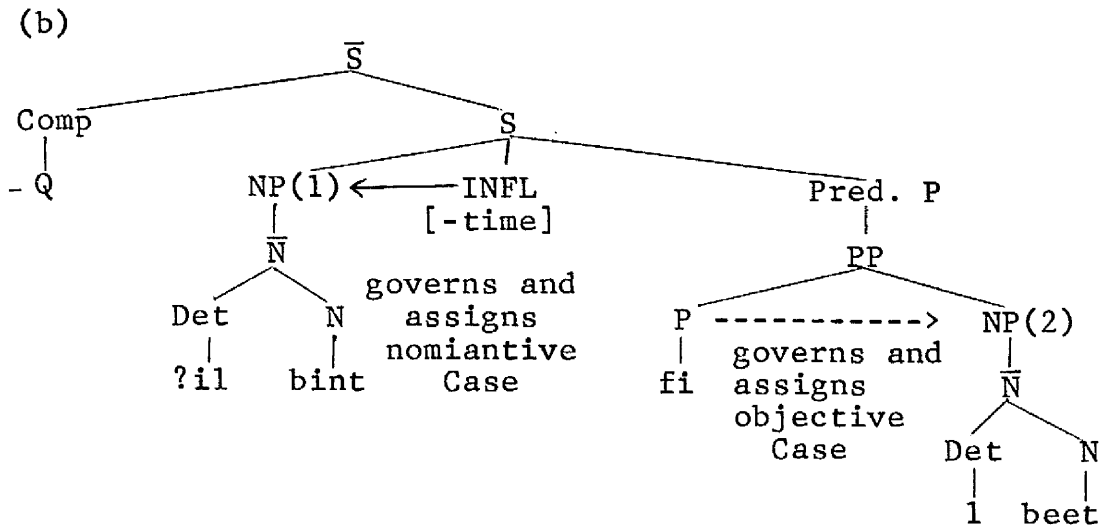


S-structures (2) demonstrate that not all nominal sentences have AGR and that they all have INFL, which is the abstraction of time in the sentence. They also demonstrate that INFL "minimally c-commands" both the NP subject and the NP predicate, therefore, it governs and assigns to both of them nominative Case.

In nominal sentences in which the predicate phrase has a PP, it is the P that governs its object since it "minimally c-commands" it, and not INFL. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure.

(3)

(a) /?ilbint filbeet/ The girl is in the house.



As S-structure (3)(b) demonstrates, NP(2) is assigned objective Case by its governor ie P and NP(1) is assigned nominative Case by its governor ie INFL.

1.4.3.3: The Assignment of Case to Nominals generated in
the NP category

In the previous sections, the assignment of Case to the NPs in D.A.D. verbal and nominal sentences has been discussed. In this section, the assignment of Case to the nominals in an NP are discussed. The NP category in D.A.D. syntax has two different types of internal structures: an NP with AGR and an NP without AGR.

1.4.3.3.1: The Assignment of Case to Nominals in an NP
with AGR

It will be shown in Part II that adjectives and participles are nominals in the syntactic system of D.A.D.; and therefore, it is not only the head nominal of an NP that must be assigned Case by way of its dominating NP but also its adjectival, which may be an adjective or a participle.

In the following sentences, we have verbal and nominal sentences whose NP complement is composed of a head nominal and an adjective, which must agree with its head in number, gender and Case.

(1)

(a) /la tax~~ɔ~~in/ ɣirwin / ɣariir /

Dont you (fem. sing) take a conceited young man.

(b) /ma bih/ /sinaadzın/ /mallaat/

There are not full boxes.

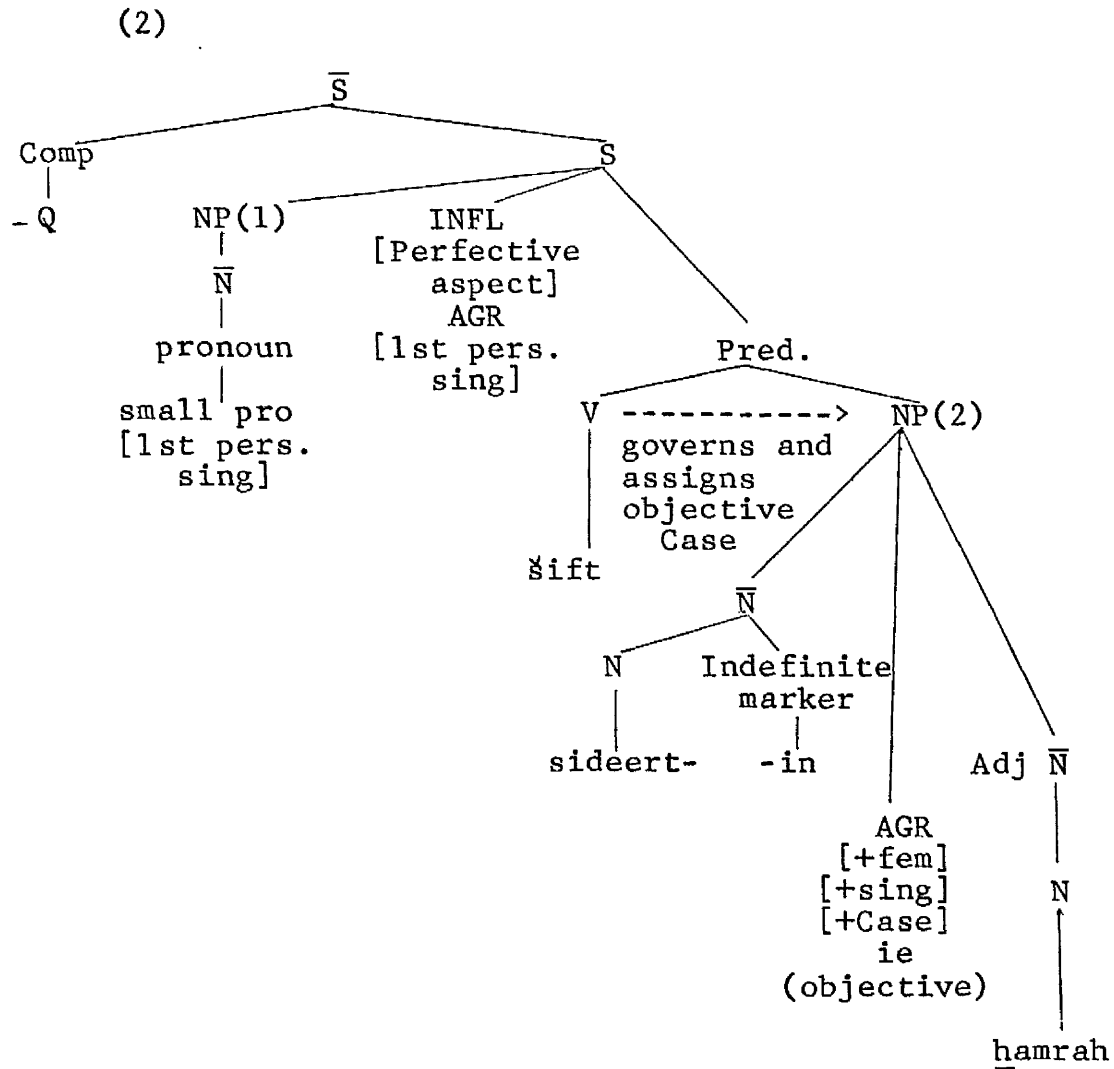
(c) /ʃift/ /sideertin/ /hamrah/

I saw a red cloth.

In sentence (a), we have the NP /ʃirwin ʃariir/ governed by the imperative verb /taxʃiin/. Within this NP /ʃirwin/ is the head and /ʃariir/ is its adjective, which is also a nominal. It follows that the Case of the dominating NP, "objective" in this example, must percolate not only to the head nominal but also to the adjective since it is also a nominal and so must also have Case. This may be maintained if we assume that the head nominal acquires the Case of its dominating NP by a process of percolation (following Chomsky 1981a) and that that head nominal controls the nominals that agree with it in that NP. That is, objective Case percolates to /ʃirwin/ from its dominating NP and /ʃirwin/ itself control /ʃariir/, by requiring it to agree with it not only in number and gender but also in Case. Therefore, the Case of the dominating NP percolates not only to the head but also to its adjectival.

The same thing applies to the nominals /sinaadzın/ and /mallaat/ in sentence (b) except that they are as-

signed nominative Case because their dominating NP is assigned nominative Case. And in sentence (c), the nominals /sideertin/ and /hamrah/ are assigned objective Case because their dominating NP is assigned objective Case. Taking sentence (1)(c) as an example, we have the following S-structure, which demonstrates the above mentioned discussion:



That is, the verb /šift/ governs NP(2) and assigns to it objective Case and as this NP has AGR, the Case of the dominating NP not only percolates to the head nominal but also to its adjectival. This is because the adjective agrees with its head nominal in an NP not only in gender and number but also in Case.

The above discussion has shown that nominals in an NP with AGR are assigned the Case of their dominating NP because Case percolates to the head nominal and the head nominal itself controls the other nominals in that NP by requiring them to agree with it in number, gender and Case. Such is the case with the nominals generated in NPs in an S node of either nominal or verbal sentences.

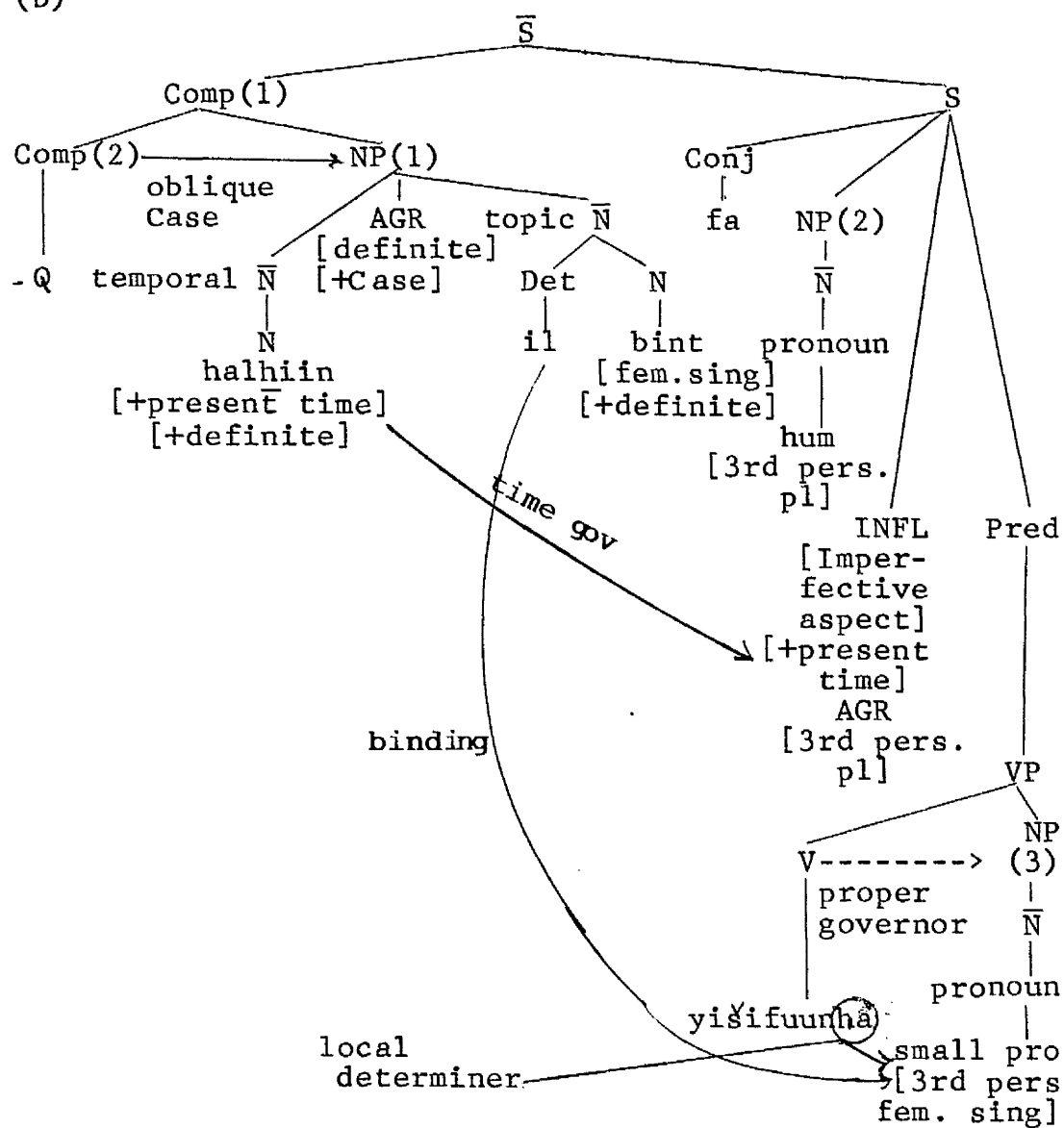
The same process is applicable to the nominals generated in NP *in* Comp. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(3)

(a) /halhiin/ilbint/ --> fahum yišifuunha/

Now, the girl, they do see her.

(b)



As NP(1) has AGR, oblique Case passes from it down to the temporal as well as the topic. That is, NP(1) is assigned oblique Case by Comp(2) and this Case percolates to both nominals in this NP since it has AGR. The

NP generated in Comp has AGR because both nominals must be [+definite];¹ therefore both nominals have oblique Case ie the topic agrees with the temporal not only in definiteness but also in Case.

¹Topics in D.A.D. are always [+definite] and temporal nominals are also [+definite]. See Chapter IV, Part II for a discussion fo some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals.

1.4.3.3.2: The Assignment of Case to Nominals in an NP
without AGR

In an NP without AGR, it is only the head nominal that is assigned the Case of its dominating NP and this may be achieved by a process of percolation, as devised by Comsky (1981a). As for the other nominals in the NP without AGR, they hold a relation of possession to the head nominal and should accordingly be assigned possessive Case. This may be achieved by a language specific rule that is called the Possessive Case rule (ie PCR).

The following sentences provide examples of NPs with no AGR:

(1)

(a) Nominal sentences:

(i) /haaʔi /binayyit binayyiti/

This (fem. sing) is the daughter of my daughter.

(ii) /ʔilbint/bintih/ The girl is his daughter.

(iii) //nisaat/ilʔawlaad/lihaalha/

Craving for boys is different ie Mothers bearing boys have different symptoms of cravings from those bearing girls.

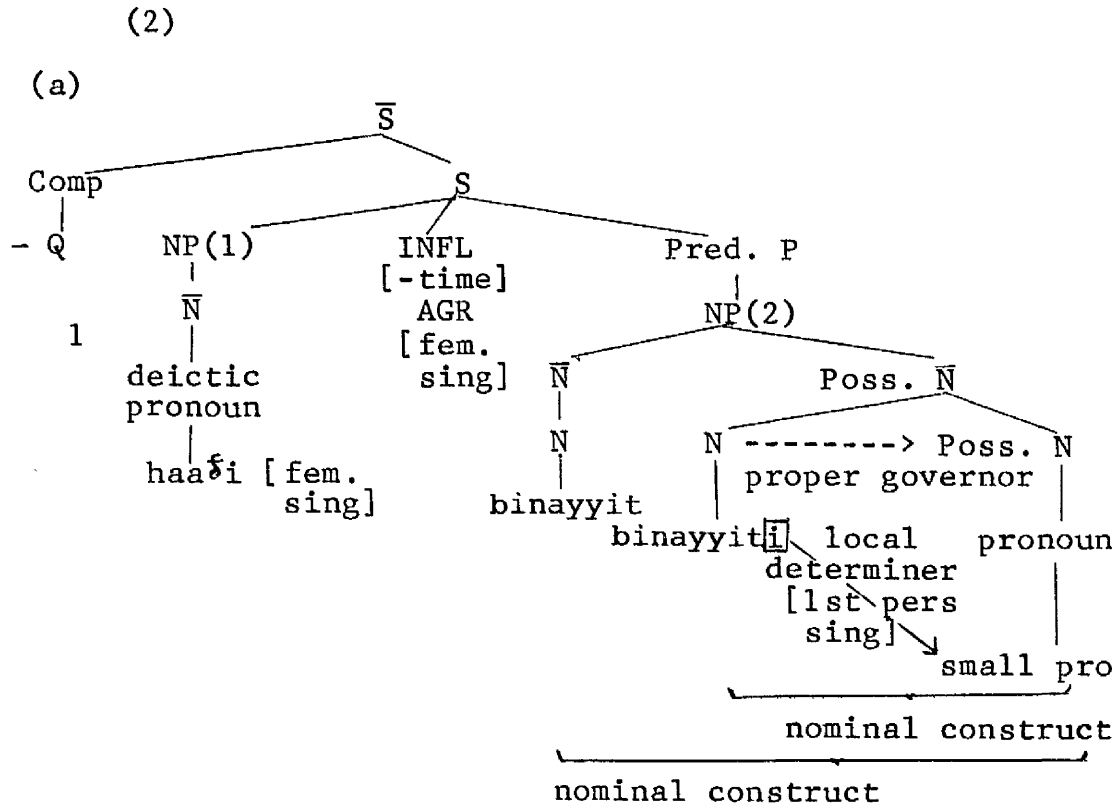
(b) Verbal sentences:

(i) /yakluun /dihin/ ilbaɣariin/ They eat fat of the
camel.

(ii) /ma nidri ɣan /ɕilmit/ ilʔawwaliin/ We do not
know about the word of the first, ie.

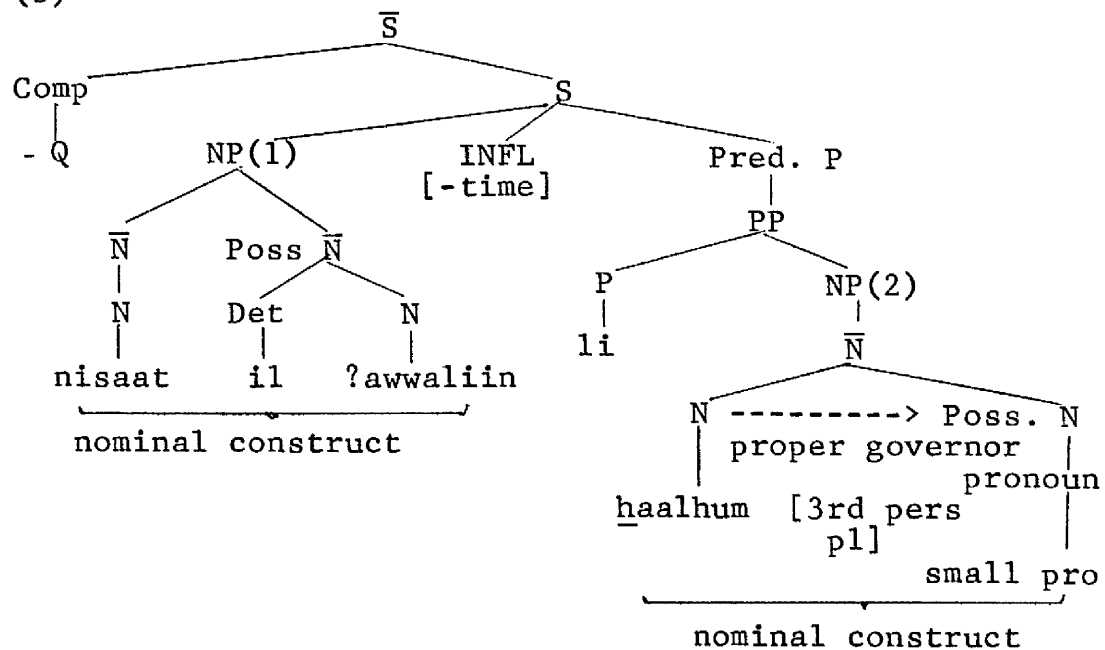
We do not know the language of the previous
generation.

Taking sentences (1)(a)(i) and (iii) as well as
(b)(i) as examples, we have the following S-structures,
which demonstrate that an NP with no AGR has the intern-
al structure of a nominal construct.

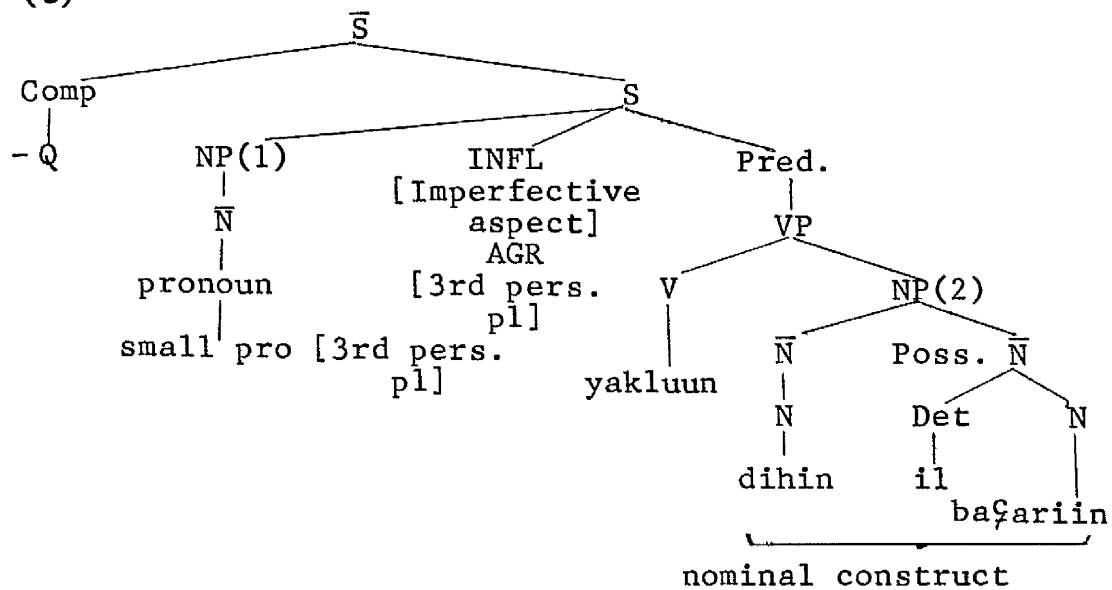


¹For a discussion of the D.A.D. pronouns, see Chapter I pp.381-91 in Part II.

(b)



(c)



As NP(2) in Sstructure (a) is assigned nominative Case by INFL, this Case percolates to the head of this NP, which is /binayyit/. As for /binayyiti/, it holds a possessive relation to /binayyit/; therefore, /binayyiti/ is assigned possessive Case, and not nominative Case. It is assigned possessive Case by the possessive Case rule, which assigns possessive Case to the possessive (pro) nominal(s) in an NP with no AGR, which has the internal structure of a nominal construct.

The head nominal in NP(1) of S-structure (b) (ie /nisaat/) is assigned nominative Case by its dominating NP. As this NP has no AGR, /il ?awwaliin/ holds a possessive relation to the head nominal, and accordingly, /il ?awwaliin/ is assigned possessive Case by the possessive Case rule. In a similar manner, small pro in NP(2) of S-structure (b) is assigned possessive Case.

In NP(2) of S-structure (c), /dihin/ is assigned the Case of its dominating NP, which is objective Case. As for /ilbaşariin/, it is assigned possessive Case by the possessive Case rule. This is because this NP has no AGR, indicating that it has the internal structure of a nominal construct.

The above discussion has shown that the nominals generated in an NP are also assigned Case. The Case of the NP percolates down to the lexical head of that NP. This verifies the fact that Case is the property of the syntax, and not the Lexicon. If that NP has AGR, then the head nominal controls the agreement features of its complement nominal and this control takes the form of making its complement agree with it in number, gender and Case. On the other hand, if the NP has no AGR, then the head nominal has no control on the other nominal(s) in that NP, allowing them to be assigned possessive Case by the language specific rule the "Possessive Case Rule".

1.4.3.4: The Assignment of Case to the D.A.D. embedded clause

The assignment of Case to embedded clauses proceeds in the same manner as that of the assignment of Case to the NP as a whole. This is because the embedded clause in D.A.D. syntax is dominated by an NP. For example, a temporal clause is dominated by an NP and this can be illustrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(1)

- (a) /min yoom maat ?abu ʕiylaani/ wana ?akiddi ʕala
 ʕiylaani/

From day died the father of my children and I am
 working for my children.

Eversince my husband died, I've been working to pro-
 vide for my children.

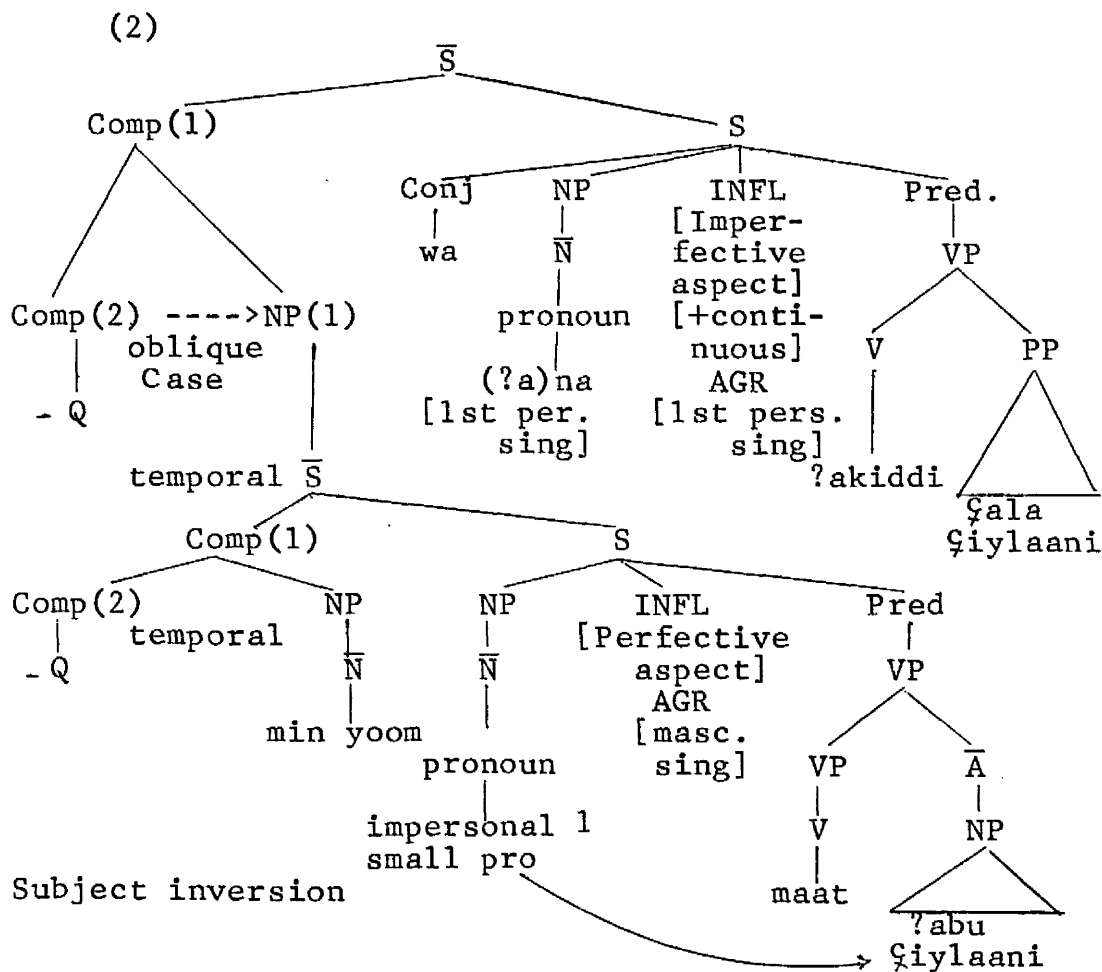
1

- (b) /yoom ʕaru lihariim hum/ ʕatuuni ʕiyy/

Day they bought for their wives, they got me this
 (fem. sing).

That is, the temporal clause is an embedded clause that
 is generated in the Comp. of the matrix clause and domi-
 nated by an NP. This is demonstrated by the following
 S-structure of sentence (1)(a):

¹See Chapter IV, Part II for a discussion of some
 of the D.A.D. temporal nominals, some of which introduce
 temporal clauses.



The temporal clause as a whole is assigned oblique Case because it is dominated by an NP which is governed and

¹The rule of subject inversion is obligatory for the NP subject in a temporal clause. See the Introduction of Chapter IV, Part II for a more detailed discussion of the temporal clause in D.A.D. syntax.

assigned Case by Comp(2). As for the internal structure of NP(1), it is analyzed as a verbal clause, whose NPs are assigned Case in the above mentioned manner.

Embedded clauses generated in S node are also dominated by an NP. This is illustrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(3)

(a) /gaalit ?innih jayy/

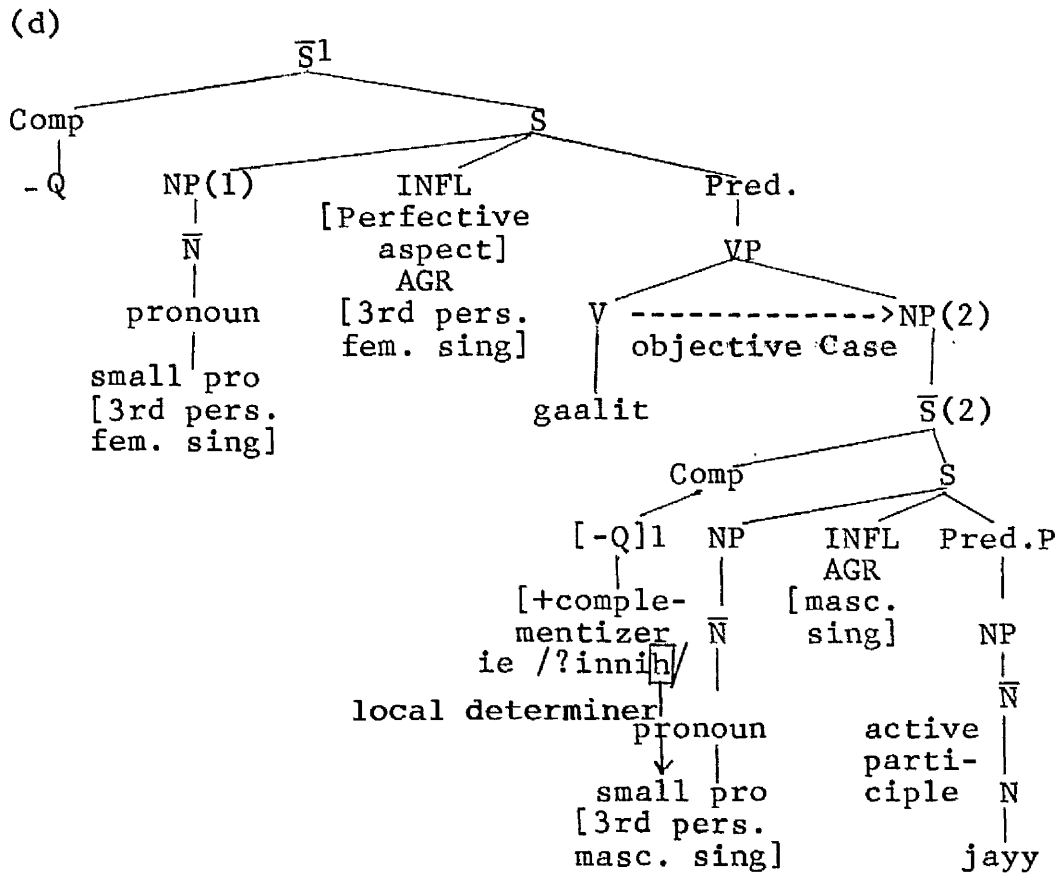
She said that he coming.

(b) /gaal ?innaha jat/

He said that she came.

(c) /ʒaaf ?innaha jat/

He saw that she came.



As $\bar{S}(2)$ is dominated by an NP (ie) NP(2), it is assigned Case. This Case is objective Case because NP(2) is governed and assigned objective Case by the verb.

¹The complementizer /?inn + pronominal suffix/ does not require Chomsky adjunction because it is not a nominal. It is therefore generated in Comp. and not in the Comp. A-position in the D.A.D. sentential configuration. It also carries pronominal suffixes that function as the local determiner of a subject small pro in this nominal clause ie $\bar{S}(2)$.

The above discussion has provided a few examples of how embedded clauses in D.A.D. syntax are also assigned Case. This is due to the fact that they are dominated by NPs. The assignment of Case to embedded clauses is important in that it makes these clauses visible at LF for θ marking. That is, an embedded clause in D.A.D. differs from a matrix clause in that it has Case, making it visible at LF and allowing it to be assigned a θ role. As for the matrix clause, the NPs in it are assigned Case and in turn θ marked but the matrix clause as a whole is not assigned Case. This is because it is not dominated by an NP.

PART II
THE NOMINAL CLASS IN D.A.D. SYNTAX

2.0: Introduction

In Part I, it was shown that the nominal sentence represents an autonomous sentential configuration in D.A.D. syntax. Its autonomy has been shown to be due to the fact that it has no VP category at any level of its syntactic representations. And the non-presence of the VP category in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is because its time reference is indicated by means of a temporal NP, and not by means of an assumed VP at LF.

In Part II, it will be shown that the non-presence of the VP category in the D.A.D. nominal sentence is because the time expressions in D.A.D. are nominals in structure (called "temporal nominals"); and, therefore, they are generated as a temporal NP in the syntactic configuration. The non-presence of the VP category in the nominal sentence is also due to the fact that adjectives, ordinal numerals and even participles in D.A.D. are nominals in structure; therefore, they are generated as an NP predicate when they are the head of the predicate phrase. That is, even a participle generated as the head of the predicate phrase generates

an NP predicate, and not a VP predicate. It follows that the D.A.D. nominal sentence is a sentence that has no VP category but that may have a PP or an NP predicate and its NP predicate may have a noun, an adjective, an ordinal numeral or a participle as its head.

Accordingly, the discussion in Part II is meant to provide syntactic evidence of the nominal status of the word classes: adjectives, ordinal numerals, participles and the time expressions in D.A.D. called "temporal nominals". Such evidence is provided by showing syntactic similarity between the above word classes and the noun in D.A.D. syntax. Therefore, a description of the D.A.D. noun and its proform (ie the pronominals) is given in Chapter I. In Chapter II, there is a description of the adjective and the ordinal numeral since these word classes display a greater similarity with the noun more than the participle or the temporal nominal subclass. In Chapter III, there is a description of the participle, showing its similarity with the D.A.D. noun and at the same time stating its characteristics that are similar to the verb. In Chapter IV, there is a description of some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals, demonstrating their similarity with the noun. Therefore,

despite the fact that the adjective, the ordinal numeral, the participle and the temporal nominal are not nouns, yet they represent different subclasses in a general class of nominals in D.A.D. syntax and as a result they are generated in the D.A.D. sentential configuration as an NP category. This in turn verifies the fact that there is no logical necessity for the assumption that the D.A.D. nominal sentence has a VP category at its LF since even its time reference is indicated by an NP.

The assumption that the adjectives, the ordinal numerals, the participles, the temporal nominals as well as the nouns and the pronouns each forms a subclass in a general class for nominals in D.A.D. allows us to hold the view that all the word classes in D.A.D. may be classified under one of the following classes:

(1) (i) Nominals (ii) Verbals (iii) Particles:

Word classes such as the adjective, the ordinal numeral, the participle and the temporal nominal have been classified as nominals because they show similarity with the noun in D.A.D. syntax. As for the D.A.D. prepositions, they are classified under the Verbals because they are similar to the verbs in that they are associated with

the Verbal set of pronominal suffixes. And word classes that show no affiliation to the verb or the noun are classified as particles, examples of which are the negative participle (ie /ma...(b)/) and the conjunctions /wa^{i}_a/ and /fa/.

And as this study is concerned with the "nominal piece", we will only be dealing with the nominal class with special reference to the nouns, pronouns, adjectives, ordinal numerals, participles and the temporal nominals. These word classes play an important role in D.A.D. syntax in that they verify the fact that the D.A.D. nominal sentence does not have^a VP category. That is, as the adjective, the ordinal numeral and the participle are nominals, they naturally generate an NP predicate when they are generated as the head of the predicate phrase; therefore, a D.A.D. sentence even with a participle as the head of its predicate phrase cannot be said to have a VP category since the participle itself is a nominal in D.A.D. syntax. In a similar respect, as the time expressions in D.A.D. are nominals, they also generate an NP that indicates the time reference of the sentence and is therefore called a "temporal NP". And if the time reference of the nominal sentence in D.A.D.

syntax is indicated by an NP, then there is no logical necessity for the assumption that even nominal sentences have a VP category at LF.

Apart from the relevance of the above word classes to the autonomy of the nominal sentence, the description of these word classes is also meant to show the gradual decrease in the inflectional system of the nominals in D.A.D. syntax. That is, the nominal class in D.A.D. incorporates word classes that are fully inflected and those that are invariables. In between, there are those that are partially inflected. The nouns represent the fully inflected forms since they inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession and number. The adjectives, the ordinal numerals, and the participles represent the partially inflected forms ie the adjective inflects for definiteness, number and gender; the ordinal numeral inflects for gender and number (apart from the fact that it is always introduced by a definite article); and the participle inflects for definiteness and indefiniteness and in the latter case only it also inflects for number and gender. As for the temporal nominals, these represent the least inflected nominals as some temporal nominals only inflect for possession

and some other temporal nominals even maintain invariable forms, which do have nominal properties that have been fossilized to become part of their lexical composition. Therefore, the nominal in D.A.D. ranges from being a fully inflected form to one that has an invariable form.

This wide range of the nominal in D.A.D. syntax is because the nominal is different from the noun. A noun, even if it designates time, inflects for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession and number. On the other hand, a temporal nominal is a kind of defective noun in the sense that it is more restricted in its syntactic distribution than the noun i.e. some temporal nominals may only be generated in the Comp. A-position. It is also defective in the sense that if it shows any inflection at all, it simply inflects for possession, and not for definiteness, indefiniteness or number. Furthermore, there are some temporal nominals that have invariable forms but as these invariable forms display nominal properties that have been fossilized to become part of the lexical composition of these forms, they have been regarded as nominals even though they cannot be regarded as nouns. That is, the temporal nominals represent a

heterogenous group of nominals some of which show more noun characteristics than the other but they all show a different syntactic behaviour from the nouns of time designation. This difference is not only in their inflectional capacity but also in the fact that the noun of time designation only functions as a temporal when it is incorporated in a PP. It is due to such differences between the noun and the temporal nominal that the latter has been regarded as a distinct subclass in the general class for the nominals in D.A.D. syntax.

CHAPTER I

2.1: The Noun Subclass

The noun subclass is composed of the word class for nouns as well as that for pronouns, the proforms of the nouns. The D.A.D. noun has the capacity to inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession and number. The pronoun shares with the noun its capacity to show number and its association with the syntactic feature [+definite] but it does not inflect for number or definiteness, rather it simply has variable forms that indicate number and gender distinctions and that are always associated with the syntactic feature [+ definite]. It is in this respect that the noun and the pronoun each forms a separate subdivision within this subclass, which is one of the subclasses in the general class for D.A.D. nominals. They have nevertheless been grouped together forming a subclass because the pronoun is the proform of the noun in the sense that it may substitute for a noun, generated as the lexical head of the NP category.

2.1.1: The D.A.D. noun

The noun in D.A.D. syntax is generated as the lexical head of the NP whether it be in the A-positions in S node or in Comp. When it is generated in the Comp A-position, it is the topic NP but when generated in the prepredicate position in S node, it is the subject. And when it is generated in the predicate phrase, it is the NP predicate, which may be governed by a V, a P or an INFL. That is, the noun is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to any specific A-position.¹

There are two types of nouns in D.A.D : count nouns and mass nouns. Both types of nouns inflect for definiteness and possession but count nouns also inflect for number and indefiniteness. This is demonstrated by the following discussion, which deals with each of the above inflectional properties separately.

2.1.1.1: Inflection for definiteness

The following sentences provide examples of the D.A.D. noun inflecting for definiteness.

¹It differs in this respect from the temporal nominal as some temporal nominals are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the Comp A-position (see Chapter IV of Part II).

(1) Nominal sentences:

- (i) /ilbint/ hilwah/ The girl is pretty.
- (ii) /çindina/ ilbint/ We have the girl.
- (iii) /çindina/ ilçirs/ We have the wedding.
- (iv) /ilmuyyah/ filbeet/ The water is in the house.

(2) Verbal sentences:

- (i) /ilçaruus/ tihawwal/
The bride is transferred.
- (ii) /çaharuuha min/ ilçiliib/
The pulled her out of the well.
- (iii) /šift/ ilbint/ I saw the girl.
- (iv) /yišassiluun bi/ ilmuyyah/
They wash up with water.

The above sentences provide examples of nouns that are introduced by a definite article ie /-il/, in which case they are regarded as inflecting for definiteness. In sentences (1) and (2)(i), the noun and its definite article are generated as the NP subject. But in sentences (ii) - (iv) of both (1) and (2) the noun and its definite article are generated as the NP predicate. All the nouns in sentences (i) - (iii) of both (1) and (2) are count nouns but in (iv), we have /il muyyah/ as an

example of a mass noun, indicating that the mass noun also inflects for definiteness.

2.1.1.2: inflection for possession

The following sentences provide examples of the D.A.D. noun inflecting for possession; which makes the noun also associated with definiteness.

(1) Nominal sentences

- (i) /nisaathum/ yeer/ Their cravings are different.
 - (ii) /ruzzil/ yeer/ My rice is different.
 - (iii) /banaathum/ hilwiin/ Their daughters are pretty.
 - (iv) /hiy şind /banaatha/
- She is at her daughters (place).
- (v) /hiy /binti/ She is my daughter.

(2) Verbal sentences

- (i) /banaat/ hum/ yişharuun/
- Their daughters do go out.
- (ii) /ʔimsik/ tariik/ ik/
- Hold on to your principles.
- (iii) /ʔagşid şala/ -rkaabi/ haşoola/
- I sit on my knees these.
- (iv) /ʔakil /ruzzil/
- I eat my rice.

Sentences (1)(i) - (ii) demonstrate that a noun inflecting for possession may be generated as the NP subject of a nominal sentence. Sentences (1)(iv) and (v) demonstrate that it may be generated as the NP predicate of a D.A.D. nominal sentence. And finally sentence (1)(ii) also demonstrates that the D.A.D. mass noun, as exemplified by /ruzz/ "rice", does inflect for possession.

Sentence (2)(i) provides an example of a noun inflecting for possession and generated as the NP subject of a verbal sentence. In sentences (2)(ii) + (iii), the noun is generated as the NP predicate of a verbal sentence. And sentence (2)(iv) provides an example of a mass noun inflecting for possession and generated in a verbal sentence. Therefore both mass nouns and count nouns may acquire definiteness either by means of carrying a definite article, as shown earlier, or by inflecting for possession. In the latter case, the noun is associated with one of the pronominal suffixes. And in both cases, the noun is not restricted in its syntactic distribution ie a noun introduced by a definite article

or inflecting for possession may be generated in any of the A-positions in S node or Comp.¹

2.1.1.3: Inflection for number

It is only the count noun that inflects for number and this is illustrated by the following count nouns:

(1)

(i) /walad/ "boy" (ii) /waladeen/ "2 boys"

(iii) /ʔawlaad/ "boys".

(2)

(i) /bint/ "girl" (ii) /binteen/ "2 girls"

(iii) /banaat/ "girls"

As can be seen from the above examples, the D.A.D. count noun has a singular form, a dual form and a plural form.

There are, however, cases in which the mass noun inflects for number and this is when it has the suffix /-ih/, which transforms the mass noun into a count noun. The suffix /-h/ transforms into the infex /-t-/ when the noun is in a non-prepausal position. This is demonstrated by the following inflectional paradigm.

¹A noun carrying the indefinite marker /-in/, on the other hand, is restricted in its syntactic distribution (See pp. 372-79 for discussion).

(3) /dihin/ "fat" ie mass noun

(i) /ildihin/ "the fat"

(ii) /dihni/ "my fat"

(4) /dihnih/ "a piece of fat" ie a count noun

(i) /ildihnih/ "the piece of fat"

(ii) /dihniti/ "my piece of fat"

(iii) /dihuun/ "various types of fat"

(iv) /dihniteen/ "2 pieces of fat"

(v) /dihnitin/ "a piece of fat"

2.1.1.4: Inflection for indefiniteness

The count noun also inflects for indefiniteness, which is indicated by the presence of the marker /-in/ in a non prepausal position. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences

(i) /issalaat nuur^din filwajh/

The prayers are light in the face.

(ii) /haaʕa šaytaanin min iššayatiin/

This (masc. sing) is a devil of the devils.

(iii) /ma bih sinaadz^din ʕiθiirah/

There are not boxes many.

(iv) /liy saahbin šaatir/

I have a friend clever.

(2) Verbal sentences(i) /ʔaʃhar /laħmin/min beethum/

He took out meat from their home.

(ii) /ħuttaha fi /beetin/firriyaʃ/

Put her in a house in Riyadh.

(iii) /ilħamiir yadawaruun /ħamiirin/ miθilhum/

The donkeys search for donkeys like them ie

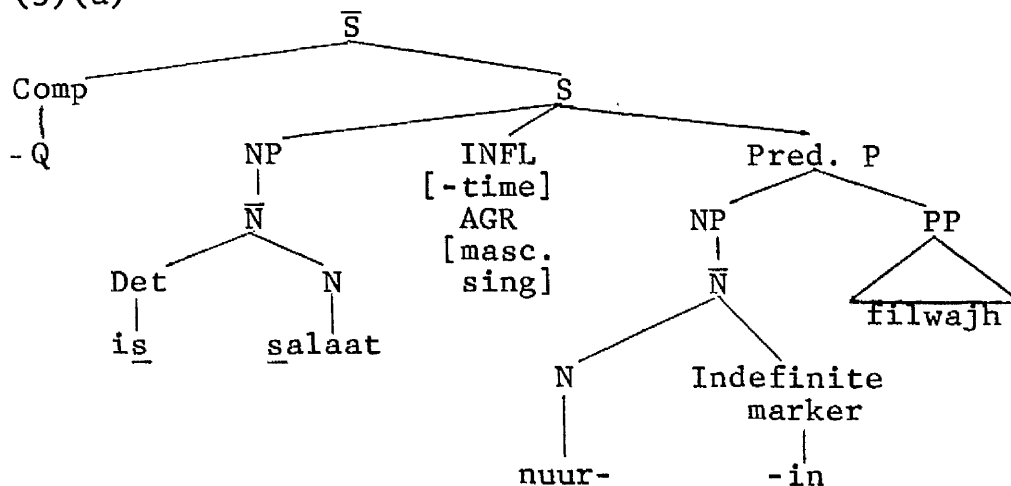
Birds of a feather flock together.

(iv) */ħamiirin yadawaruun ħamiirin miθilhum/

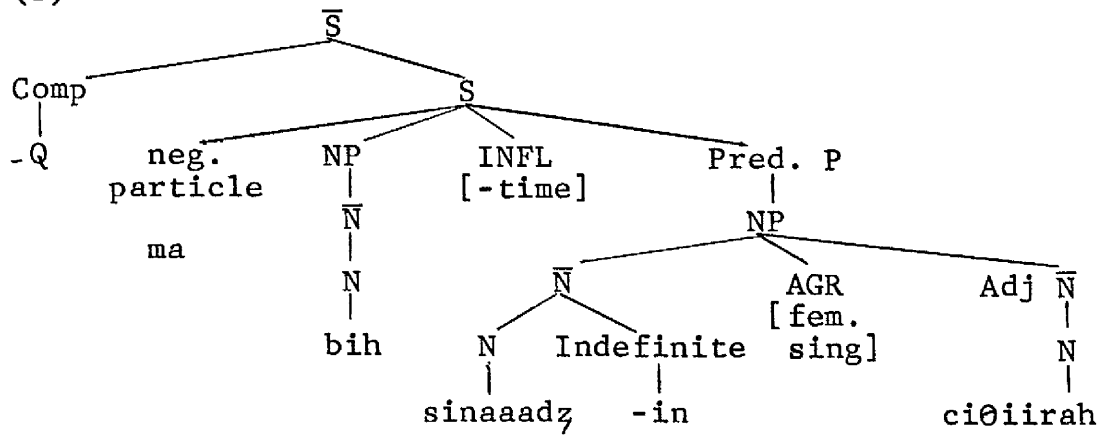
A donkey searches for a donkey like itself.

It can be seen from the above sentences that a noun inflecting for indefiniteness is generated in the predicate phrase of both verbal and nominal sentences. This is also demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences 1(i) and (iii) as well as 2(i) and (iii):

(3)(a)

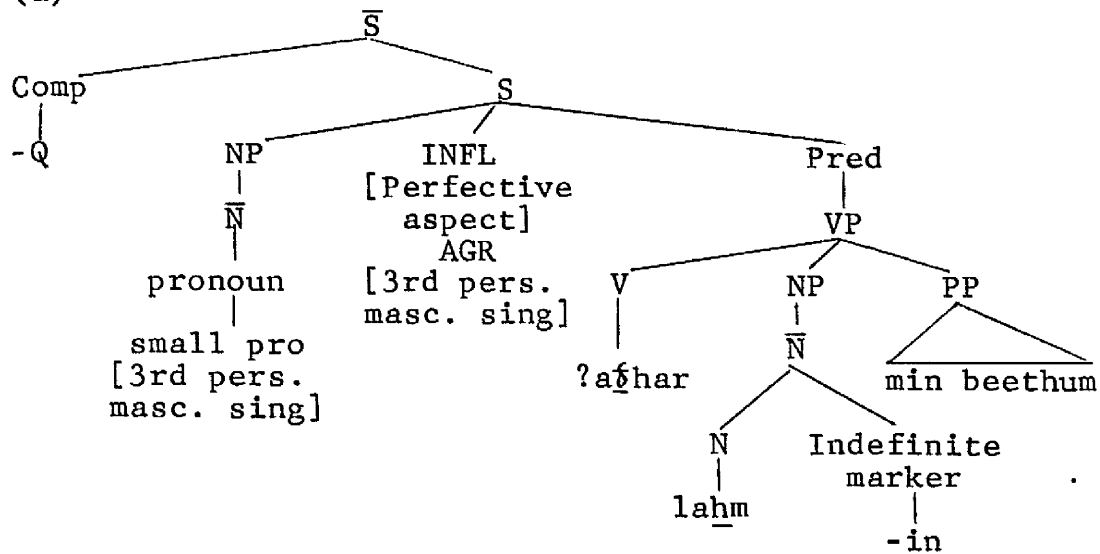


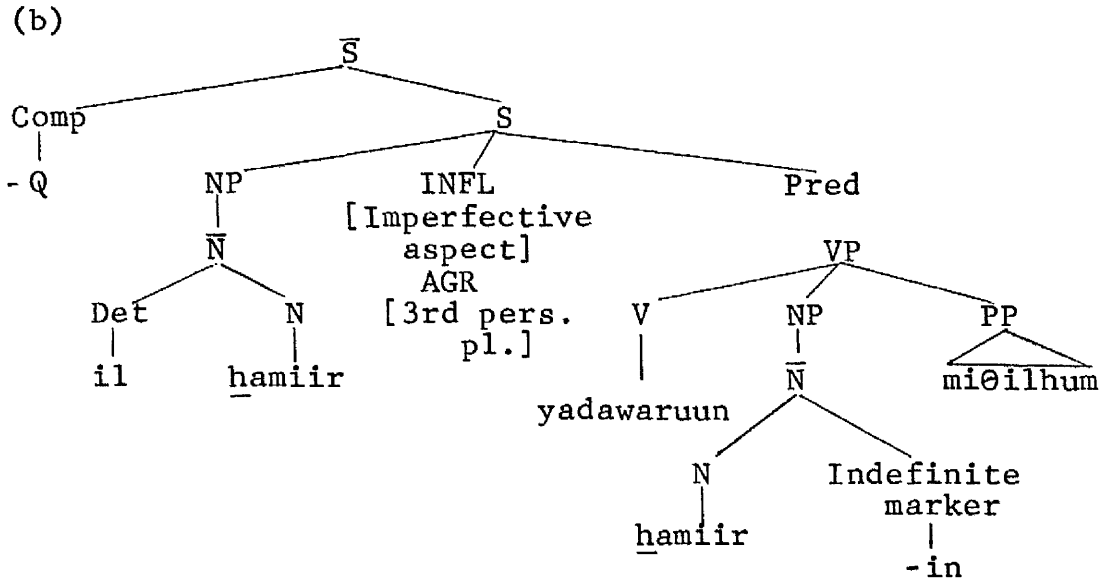
(b)



(4)

(a)





In S-structures 3(a) + (b), it is shown that a noun inflecting for indefiniteness is generated as the NP predicate of a nominal sentence and in S-structures 4(a) + (b), it is generated as the NP predicate of a verbal sentence. S-structure (4)(b) also demonstrates that the NP subject has a noun inflecting for definiteness whereas the NP predicate has a noun inflecting for indefiniteness despite the fact that the translation of sentence 2(iii) indicates that its NP subject does not refer to a specific or definite group of donkeys. This indicates that the definiteness of the NP subject in sentence 2(iii) is syntactic, and not semantic. Therefore, it may be said that the NP subject in D.A.D. syn-

tax has to have the syntactic feature [+definite] even when it is not definite in reference. Accordingly, sentence 2(iv) is ill-formed because its NP subject has a noun that inflects for indefiniteness; ie, nouns inflecting for indefiniteness are not generated as the NP subject of verbal or nominal sentences in D.A.D. syntax.

It is in this respect that nominals of indefinite reference are always generated as the NP predicate even when they are the subject¹ of the discussion and in such a case the definite nominals /fih/, /bih/, /liy/ or /çindi/ are generated as the NP subject. This is demonstrated by the following nominal sentences, in which one of the above nominals is generated as the NP subject and a noun with an indefinite marker is the NP predicate:

(5)

(a) /bih/ sinaadzın çitirah/ .

There are a good many boxes.

(b) /liy/ saahbın şaatir/ I have a friend who is clever
ie A friend of mine is clever.

(c) /liy/ saahbın yaab/ I have a friend who has absented
himself ie A friend of mine is absent.

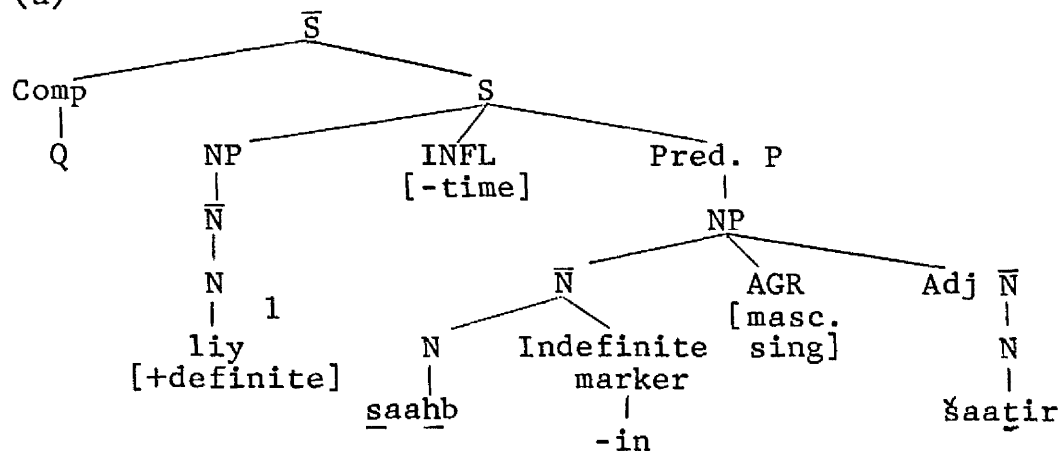
¹The term "subject" is used in a non-grammatical sense.

- (d) /bih/ bintin /tištaʎal/ There is a girl working ie
A girl is working.

Therefore, whenever there is a noun of indefinite reference, D.A.D. syntax requires it to be generated as the NP predicate, in which case the NP subject is a nominal indicating existence such as /bih/ or a nominal indicating possession such as /liy/. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of 5(b) and (c):

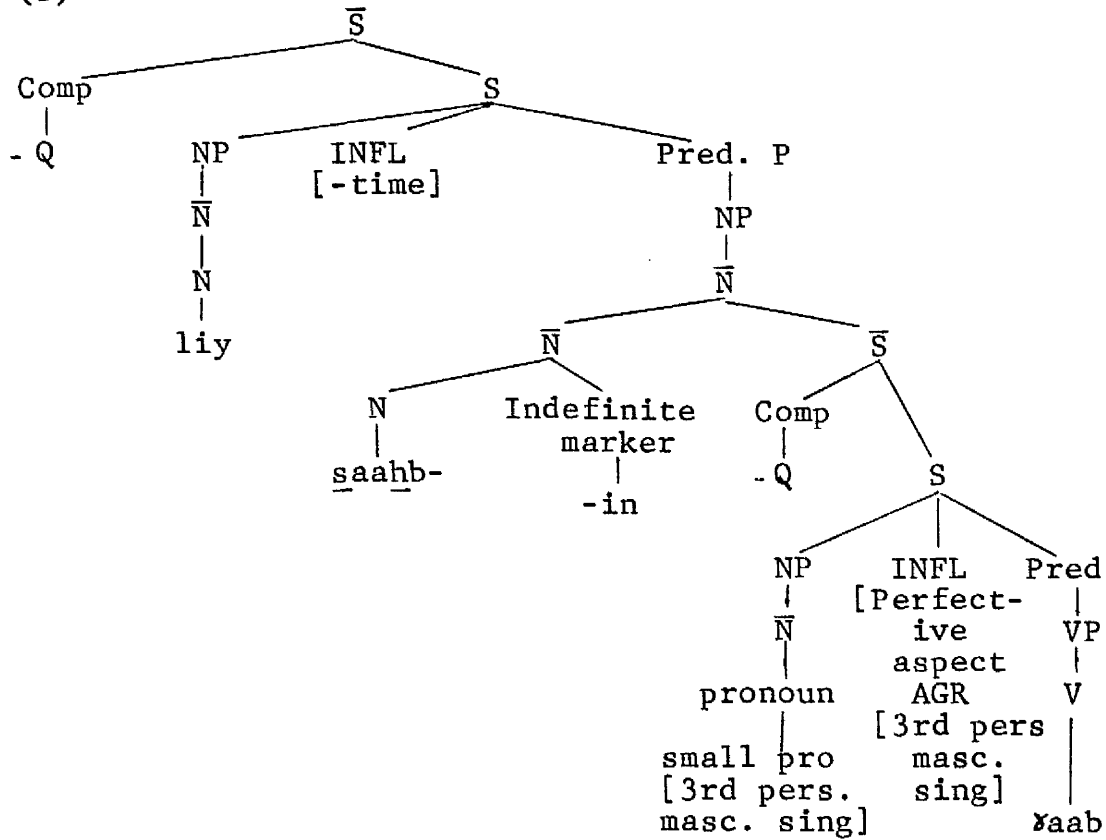
(6)

(a)



¹It is definite because it has a pronominal suffix ie /iy/. See pp.202-14 of Chapter II of Part I for further discussion on /liy/, which is a possessive nominal.

(b)



Accordingly, it may be said that the noun in D.A.D. syntax inflects for indefiniteness but this inflection is restricted to its being in a non prepausal position and its being generated as the NP predicate of verbal or nominal sentences. That is, the /-in/ marker in D.A.D. is restricted to the predicate A-position and is not

carried by all nouns indefinite in reference and that are generated in other A-position.¹

2.1.1.5: Diminutivization:

The final characteristic of the D.A.D. noun to be discussed is its capacity to subsume to the rule of diminutivization. This rule is a phonological rule that involves the raising and, in some cases, the diphthongization of the vowel after the second radical. The diminutivized form is used in D.A.D. for the indication of endearment or smallness in size. The following sentences provide examples of the diminutivized forms of the nouns /bint/ "girl", /walad/ "boy", /ʔumm/ "mother", and /ʕeeʃ/ "bread."

(1)

(i) /ʃift {ilwilayyid} ʔams/ I saw the dear little
 {ilwileed} boy, yesterday.

(ii) /ilwilayyidaat tadiyyanu min ijjamʕiyyah/

¹NP subject in sentence 2(iii) is indefinite in reference and yet it has a definite article. Sentence 2(iv) is ill-formed because the subject noun carries the suffix /-in/. The definite article is a syntactic marker of definiteness which does not necessarily equate definiteness in meaning. Similarly, the suffix /-in/ is a syntactic marker of indefiniteness but does not necessarily equate indefiniteness in meaning. (See discussion of participles in D.A.D. for further evidence that the /-in/ suffix is a syntactic marker.)

The dear little boys borrowed from the social insurance.

(iii) /hiy binayyit binayyiti/

She is the dear little daughter of my dear little daughter.

(iv) /ʔumayyiti šaaditin binayyitiç/

My dear little mother is taking care of your dear little daughter.

(v) /ma gilt mid çiyayyiš/

I have never said a little and a very small quantity of bread ie I've never begged for the least quantity of bread.

In sentence, (1)(i) the /-a-/ after the second radical in /walad/ has been raised to /wileed/. And in /wilayyid/, it has been diphthongized. It is also to be noted that /wilayyid/ indicates a greater degree of endearment than /wileed/. The same process is found in (1)(ii), in which the plural form /ilwiladaat/ has had the vowel after its second radical raised and then diphthongized to become /ilwilayyidaat/. In sentences (1)(iii) and (iv), the third radical disappears and a diphthong is inserted after the second radical; therefore, we have /binayyih/ and /ʔumayyih/ instead of /bint/ and

/ʔumm/. The feminine suffix /-h/ in /binayyih/ and /ʔumayyih/ transforms to the /-t-/ inflex when it is in a non-prepausal position. Therefore, we have /binayyit/ and /binayyiti/ in sentence (1)(iii) and /ʔumayyiti/ and /binayyitiç/ in (1)(iv). This is due to the fact that /binayyiti/, /ʔumayyiti/ and /binayyitiç/ also inflect for possession, in which case the inflection /-h/ becomes the inflex /-t-/. As for /binayyit/, the inflection /-h/ has become /-t-/ because it is not in a prepausal position. And in sentence (1)(v), the second radical ie /y/, which is only visible in the diminutivized form, is followed by a diphthong; therefore, we have /çiyayyiš/, instead of the non-diminutive form /çeeš/.

2.1.2: The D.A.D. pronouns:

The D.A.D. pronominal system may be divided into deictics and non-deictics. A deictic pronominal has spatial or temporal dimensions whereas a non-deictic pronominal is simply a pro form of the noun, in which case it subsumes to principle (B) of the binding conditions. And as the non deictic pronominals have been previously referred to in the Introduction and in Chapter IV of Part I in the section related to Case Theory,

they are described first and as briefly as possible. Our main concern is with the deictic pronominals since they have temporal dimensions and are, accordingly, generated as part of the lexical composition of some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals.

2.1.2.1: The non-deictic pronominals:

The D.A.D. non-deictic pronominals are of two different types: free pronominal forms and pronominal affixes that are carried by verbs, prepositions and nominals and these pronominal affixes are the local determiners for the generation of a small pro. These affixes may be briefly illustrated by the following verbs, prepositions and nominals.

(1) Pronominal affixes for the generation of a subject small pro

(A) Perfective verb forms:

- (i) /ruht/ I went.
- (ii) /ruhna/ We went.
- (iii) /rah/ He went.
- (iv) /rahi/ She went.
- (v) /rah/ They went.
- (vi) /ruht/ You (masc. sing) went.
- (vii) /ruhti/ You (fem. sing) went.

(viii) /ruhtum/ You (pl) went.

(B) Imperfective verb forms:

(i) /?aruuh/ I go.

(ii) /niruuh/ We go.

(iii) /yiruuh/ He goes.

(iv) /tiruuh/ She goes.

(v) /yiruhuun/ They go.

(vi) /tiruuh/ You (masc. sing) go.

(vii) /tiruhiin/ You (fem. sing) go.

(viii) /tiruhuun/ You (pl) go.

(2) Pronominal affixes for the generation of a complement small pro:

(A) Verbs:

(i) /xaʔni/ He took me.

(ii) /xaʔna/ He took us.

(iii) /xaʔih/ He took him.

(iv) /xaʔha/ He took her.

(v) /xaʔhum/ He took them.

(vi) /xaʔik/ He took you (masc. sing).

(vii) /xaʔiç/ He took you (fem. sing).

(viii) /xaʔkum/ He took you (pl).

(B) Prepositions:

(i) /fiini/ in me.

- (ii) /fiina/ in us.
- (iii) /fiih/ in him.
- (iv) /fiiha/ in her.
- (v) /fiihum/ in them.
- (vi) /fiik/ in you (masc. sing).
- (vii) /fiiç/ in you (fem. sing).
- (viii) /fiikum/ in you (pl).

(3) Pronominal affixes for the generation of a possessive small pro:

(A) Nominals:

- (i) /waladi/ "my son".
- (ii) /waladna/ "our son".
- (iii) /waladih/ "his son".
- (iv) /waladha/ "her son".
- (v) /waladhum/ "their son".
- (vi) /waladik/ Your (mas. sing) son.
- (vii) /waladiç/ Your (fem. sing) son.
- (viii) /waladkum/ Your (pl) son.

As can be seen from the above examples, the pronominal affixes for the generation of a subject small pro are only carried by verb forms whereas those for the generation of a complement small pro are carried by both

verbs and prepositions. As for those for the generation of a possessive small pro, they are carried by nominals.

The free pronominal forms constitute a smaller set of pronominals in D.A.D. syntax. This set is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the prepredicate position in which it is generated as the NP subject. Despite the fact that it has been listed before in the Introduction, it is repeated here for clarity of exposition:

(4)

- (i) /?ana/ first person singular
- (ii) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /?inhin/ \\ /hinna/ \end{array} \right\}$ first person plural
- (iii) /inta/ second person, masc. sing.
- (iv) /inti/ second person, fem. sing.
- (v) /intum/ second person, plural.
- (vi) /huw/ 3rd person, masc. sing.
- (vii) /hiy/ 3rd person, fem. sing.
- (viii) /hum/ 3rd person, plural.

2.1.2.2: The D.A.D. deictics

There are various kinds of deictics in D.A.D. Some are used adjectivally; others are used pronominally and some others are used as specifiers. The adjectival and pronominal deictics have variant forms that show dis-

tinctions of gender and number. As for the specifier deictics, they have invariant forms, each form of which indicates a certain distance whether in space or time. We will first discuss the D.A.D. deictic pronominals because this section mainly deals with the pronominal system. However, as the deictic specifiers do play an important role in the determination of the time reference of the temporal nominal in which they are generated, there will also be a small discussion of the deictic specifiers. This in turn requires us to differentiate between the deictic specifier and that of the adjectival.

2.1.2.2.1: The deictic pronominals:

There are two different kinds of deictic pronominals: /haa-/ prefixed forms and non-/haa-/ prefixed forms. The former forms (ie /haa-/ prefixed) are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the prepredicate A-positions whether as NP subjects or NP topics. As for the non-/haa-/ prefixed forms, they are generated in the predicate A-positions. This is demonstrated by the following discussion, in which the /haa-/ prefixed forms are discussed first and then the non-/haa-/ prefixed forms are discussed afterwards.

2.1.2.2.1.1: /haa-/ prefixed forms:

The /haa-/ prefixed forms generated in the prepredicate A-positions of verbal and nominal sentences are illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences:

(i) /haa^ɬa ʒaklina/

This (masc. sing) is our way.

(ii) /haa^ɬi bint/

This (fem. sing) is a girl.

(iii) /haa^ɬoola rajajiil/

These (pl. masc) are men.

(iv) /haa^ɬooli banaat/

These (pl. fem) are girls.

(v) /haa^ɬa --> fahuw rijaal/

This one (masc. sing), so it is a man.

(2) Verbal sentences:

(i) /haa^ɬa yimšiy/

This (masc. sing) goes away or walks.

(ii) /haa^ɬi tigšid/

This (fem. sing) stays.

(iii) /haa^ɬoola raahu/

These (pl. masc) went away.

(iv) /haa^ɬooli raahu/

These (pl. fem) went away.

(v) /haa^fa --> fahuw ya^fwiy beetih min il^fiša/

This one (masc. sing), so he goes into his house
at dusk time.

Sentences (1) altogether demonstrate that the deictic pronominals have distinctive forms showing gender distinction in both the singular and the plural forms. In sentences (i) - (iv), the deictic pronominal is generated as the NP subject and in sentence (v), it is generated as the NP topic; as demonstrated by the slight pause after /haa^fa/ and that is formally indicated by the small arrow ie /->/ and the presence of the emphatic conjunction /fa-/.

Sentences (2) demonstrate that these very same forms may be generated in verbal sentences. In sentences (i) - (iv), they are generated as NP subject and in (v), it is generated as NP topic.

Apart from the above mentioned /haa-/ prefixed forms, the following forms have also been recorded within my corpus of D.A.D.

(3)

(i) /haa^faak yin^fam/

That one (masc. sing) is to be cherished.

(ii) /haaʃiik il ʔawwaliin/

That one (fem. sing) is the old generation.

The forms /haaʔaak./ and /haaʔiik/ have deictic force that refers to distant places. They differ in this respect from the forms cited in (1) and (2). They also differ in that they do not have number distinction since only two forms have been found ie one for masculine entities and one for feminine entities.

2.1.2.2.1.2: Non-/haa/ prefixed forms:

The non-/haa/ prefixed deictic pronominal forms are restricted in their syntactic distribution to the A-positions in the predicate phrase of verbal or nominal sentences. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences

(i) /mahuub miθil ʔa/

He is not like this one (masc. sing).

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(ii) /mahiyb miθil δi/

She is not like this one (fem. sing).

X	Y
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(iii) /mahumb miθil ʔooli/

They are not like these (fem. pl).

(iv) /mahumb miθil ʔoolā/

They are not like these (masc. pl).

(2) Verbal sentences

(i) /nifsax ʔa/

We take off this (masc. sing).

(ii) /nifsax ʔi/

We take off this (fem. sing).

(iii) /ʂaafu ʔoolā/

They saw these (pl. masc).

(iv) /ʂaafu ʔooli/

They saw these (pl. fem).

Sentences (1) demonstrate that non /haa-/ prefixed deictic pronominals may be generated in nominal sentences but are restricted to the A-positions in its predicate phrase. Sentences (2) demonstrate that these very same forms are generated in the predicate phrase of verbal sentences. In both cases, however, the non /haa-/ prefixed deictic pronominals resemble those which are /haa-/ prefixed in that they have variable forms that inflect for number as well as for gender whether they be in the singular or the plural form.

Similarly, the non /haa-/ prefixed deictic pronominals have forms that refer to more distant items but

these forms inflect for gender only ie there are only two forms: one for masculine entities and the other for feminine entities. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /jaana ʔaak/

We got that one (masculine).

(ii) /jaana ʔiik/

We got that one (feminine).

2.1.2.2.2: The deictic specifiers:

The following sentences demonstrate that D.A.D. also has deictic specifiers, which have invariable forms that do not inflect for gender or number and introduce nominals that inflect for definiteness ie by means of a definite article.

(1)

(i) //ʔaʔʔʔabaab/ ʔala-nnaar/

This youthful figure is for Hell.

(ii) /ʔindaha ʔaʔbiniy-lkibaar/

She has those big girls.

(iii) /yihibbi ʔaʔqalb/

He loves this dog.

(iv) /ʔana ʔaxiʔt ʔa-rrijaal/

I took this man.

(2)

- (i) /haa/ššabaab/ ɣala-nnaar/

This youthful figure is for Hell.

- (ii) /yihibbi/ haa/lgatwah/

He loves this cat.

- (iii) /ɕindaha/ haa/lbiniy/ lkibaar/

She has these big girls.

(3)

- (i) /ruuhi lissaajarah/ ɕiik/ilfilaniyyah/

You (fem. sing) go to the that particular tree.

- (ii) /huu fi/ ɕaak/ilbeet/

He is in that house.

- (iii) /ɕiik/ilhad/ --> ma nakil illa dihin bagar/

That period of time in the past, we used to eat only cow fat.

As shown by sentences (1), (2) and (3), D.A.D. has the forms /ɕa-/, /haa-/, /ɕiik/ and /ɕaak/, which represent deictic specifiers in D.A.D. syntax. These specifiers are invariable forms that do not inflect for gender or number; therefore, they differ from the D.A.D. deictic pronominals afore described. In sentences (1), /ɕa-/ maintains its invariable form despite the fact

that it introduces masculine singular nominals in (i), (iii) and (iv); a feminine singular nominal in (ii) and a plural nominal in (v). In sentences (2), /haa-/ maintains its invariable form despite the fact that it introduces a masculine singular nominal in (1); a feminine singular nominal in (ii), and a plural nominal in (iii). As for /ḏiik/ and /ḏaak/, it is clear from sentences 3(i) and (iii) that /ḏiik/ maintains its invariable form despite the fact that it introduces a masculine singular nominal in (iii) and a feminine singular nominal in (i). It follows that /ḏaak/ is not the masculine form of /ḏiik/; rather each of the above forms represents a distinct deictic specifier and each of which conveys a specific semantic range.

To illustrate the difference between /ḏa-/ and /haa-/, on the one hand, and /ḏiik/ and /ḏaak/ on the other hand, we have to look at the following temporal nominals, which have these specifiers as part of their lexical composition.

(4)

(i) /ḏalhiin/ --> ?ajiib iṣṣaahi/

Immediately, I am bringing the tea.

(ii) /halhiin/ --> ?ajiib iṣṣaahi/

Now, I am bringing the tea.

- (iii) /ḡaakilyoom/ --> saar ma ḡindi taṣaam/

That day, it became that I had no food.

- (iv) /ḡiikilhiin/ --> ma bih sihhiyaat/

That period of time in the distant past, there were no hospitals.

On the basis of the intuitions of the native speaker of D.A.D., /ḡalhiin/ refers to the immediate present time whereas /halhiin/ simply refers to the present in general. Similarly, /ḡaak ilyoom/ refers to a less distant past than /ḡiik ilhiin/. This difference is probably due to the fact that /ḡa/ is a deictic specifier that refers to closer objects than that of /haa-/ And similarly, /ḡaak/ refers to less far objects than /ḡiik/. And as they qualify temporal nominals in /ḡalhiin/, /ḡaak ilyoom/ and /ḡiik ilhiin/, they maintain these semantic distinctions but within a temporal perspective¹

When, on the other hand, they specify nouns, as illustrated by sentences (1), (2) and (3), they acquire a spatial perspective. Therefore, the nouns introduced

¹For a more detailed discussion of D.A.D. temporal nominals, see Chapter IV, Part II.

by / δ a-/ are regarded within a pointing distance ie they are near enough to be pointed at. As for those introduced by /haa-/, they are near but not as near as those introduced by / δ a-/. In a similar respect, the nouns introduced by / δ aak/ are far away and yet not as far as those introduced by / δ iik/.

The deictic specifiers are of importance to us in this thesis as some of them qualify some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals, in which case they become part of their lexical composition. In such cases, they acquire a temporal perspective, as shown above. And it is also interesting to note that the lexical composition of the D.A.D. temporal nominal allows the presence of a deictic specifier but not an adjectival even if that adjectival is a deictic. That is, D.A.D. syntax has / δ alhiin/, /halhiin/, / δ aak ilyoom/, / δ iik ilhiin/ etc but not */ilhiin δ a/, */ilhiin haa δ a/, */ilyoom δ aak/ etc. This is because the D.A.D. temporal nominal is not a noun and differs its syntactic behaviour from a noun ie it may be qualified by a specifier but not by an adjectival and in such a case the specifier is part of its lexical composition.

2.1.2.2.3: The deictic adjectivals

Apart from deictic specifiers, D.A.D. syntax also has deictic adjectivals, which may qualify a noun but not a temporal nominal. The deictic adjectivals are similar to the deictic pronominals in that they inflect for gender and number. But being adjectivals, they do not function as proforms of nouns; rather, they qualify nouns and must agree with these nouns in gender and number. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /tigʕid ʕala-rkaabha/ haaʔoola/

She sits on her knees these (pl. masc).

(ii) /niruuh biiha -lleelah/ haaʔi/

We go with her this (fem. sing) night.

(iii) /ʕuufi ʔuxtum/ ʔi/

You (fem. sing) see this (fem. sing) sister of theirs.

(iv) /ʕindaha bintin min irrijaal/ ʔa/

She has a daughter from this (masc. sing) man.

In sentence (1)(i), /haaʔoola/ agrees with its head nominal in gender and number. The same applies to /haaʔi/, /ʔi/ and /ʔa/ in sentences (ii), (iii) and (iv). These examples do not only demonstrate that the

deictic adjectival inflects for gender and number but that it may be introduced by /haa-/ or not. That is, the D.A.D. deictic adjectivals allow the free variation of the /haa-/ prefix. It differs in this respect from the deictic pronominal. It is also to be noted that /-lleelah/ is a noun of time designation, and not a temporal nominal. This is why it may be qualified by an adjectival. Therefore, the deictic adjectivals do not have invariable forms and only qualify nouns; the fact which distinguishes them from the deictic specifiers.

Apart from the above structural differences between a deictic adjectival and a specifier, there is also a difference in emphasis. A noun qualified by a deictic adjectival does acquire more emphasis than one that is qualified by a deictic specifier.

CHAPTER II

2.2: The Adjective Subclass

In Chapter I, it was shown that the D.A.D. noun inflects for definiteness, possession, number and indefiniteness. As the D.A.D. adjective shares with the noun its capacity to inflect for definiteness and number, it is regarded as belonging to the general class for D.A.D. nominals but as it does not inflect for possession or indefiniteness, it nevertheless differs from the noun, forming a separate subclass in this general class for nominals.

This subclass incorporates the adjective as well as the ordinal numeral because they both share the capacity to inflect for gender, number and to have a definite article. That is, despite the fact that the D.A.D. noun does not inflect for gender but simply has gender, both the adjective and the ordinal numeral inflect for gender and as they also share the capacity to inflect for number and have a definite article, they constitute a distinct subclass in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. The fact that they form a distinct subclass from that for nouns is also demonstrated by their incapacity

to inflect for possession and indefiniteness, contrary to the noun in D.A.D. syntax.

2.2.1: The D.A.D. Adjective

If the adjective is generated in an NP, it agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and [+ definiteness]. But if it is generated as the NP predicate, it agrees with its head nominal (ie the NP subject) in gender and number, but not in [+ definiteness].

2.2.1.1: The Syntactic Behaviour of the Adjective in an NP

The following sentences demonstrate that the adjective generated in an NP agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and [+ definiteness].

(1) Nominal sentences

- (i) / [issamin ilxafar] min ilbaçariin/
NP
The green butter is from the camel.
- (ii) / [ildihin ilxafar -->] fahuw dihin ilbaçariin/
NP
The green fat, it is the fat of the camel.
- (iii) / hallhiin [?in çaamin tammah]/
NP
This time (ie present time) is complete luxury.
- (iv) / hiy [binteertin hamrah marrah]/
NP
It (fem. sing) is a cloth very red in color.

(2) Verbal sentences

- (i) /la tax_{fi}in [_{NP}ɣirwin ɣariir]/
Dont you (fem. sing) take a conceited young man.
- (ii) /subbi ɣali_{ih} [_{NP}issaamin ilxa_ɣar]/
Pour you (fem. sing) on it green butter.
- (iii) /wajiib min ilbaatin [_{NP}irraamil ilʔahmar]/
And I bring from the valley the red sand.
- (iv) /[_{NP}ilhur_{ma}h ittayyibah] raahit/
The kind woman is gone.

The adjective generated in an NP whether in a verbal or a nominal sentence agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and [₊ definiteness]. This is demonstrated by the above sentences which illustrate that this is the case regardless of the A-position in which it is generated. In (1)(i), the adjective is generated in the NP subject of a nominal sentence and it agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and definiteness ie it is masculine, singular and has a definite article. In (1)(ii), it is generated in the NP topic, and again it agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and definiteness ie it is masculine, singular and has a definite article. In sentences (1)-(iii) and (iv), it is generated in the NP predicate,

and it also agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and the syntactic feature [+ definite].

In sentence (1)(iv), the adjective is feminine and singular in form in agreement with its head nominal ie /binteertin/. But as the adjective does not inflect for indefiniteness /hamrah/ does not have the indefinite marker ie /-in/. Nevertheless, it still agrees with its head nominal in the syntactic feature [-definite] and this is indicated by the fact that it does not have a definite article. The same can be said of sentence (1)(iii) as regards the syntactic feature [-definite] ie as the adjective does not inflect for indefiniteness, it simply indicates that it has the syntactic feature [-definite] in agreement with its head nominal by not having a definite article. Therefore, /tammah/ agrees with its head nominal /?in ṣaamin/ in being [-definite] but this [-definiteness] is indicated by its not having a definite article, rather than by inflecting for indefiniteness. That is, the /-in/ inflection is an inflection that is not associated with the D.A.D. adjective.

Sentence (1)(iii), however, represents a special case as regards its gender and number agreement. The adjective is feminine singular in form whereas the head

nominal is a plural inanimate noun ie /ʔinʕaamin/. There is, nevertheless, syntactic agreement in gender and number between the adjective and its head nominal but this agreement subsumes to a syntactic rule that requires plural inanimate nouns in D.A.D. to be qualified by feminine singular adjectives.

Looking now at the verbal sentences, we find that the same rule holds as regards adjectives generated in an NP. In sentence (2)(i), the adjective /ʕariir/ agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and its [-definiteness]; therefore, it is masculine, singular and does not have a definite article. Sentences (ii) - (iv), on the other other hand, illustrate that the adjective agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and the presence of a definite article. In sentences (ii) and (iii), the adjective is masculine and singular whereas in sentence (iv), it is feminine and singular. Therefore, whether the adjective is generated in an NP subject or an NP object of a verbal sentence, it agrees with its head nominal in gender, number and the syntactic feature (± definiteness).

2.2.1.2: The Syntactic Behaviour of the Adjective in an

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When the adjective is generated as the lexical head of the predicate phrase, it agrees with its head (ie the NP subject) in gender and number, but not in [_± definiteness]. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Nominal sentences

(i) /ilgalb /taahir/

The heart is pure.

(ii) /guluubhum /taahrah/

Their hearts are pure.

(iii) /inti /xabrah/

You (fem. sing) know ie understand.

(iv) /inta /xabir/

You (masc. sing) know.

(v) /?ana /miḡris/

I am married (masc. sing).

(vi) /?ana /miḡrish/

I am married (fem. sing).

(vii) /?inhin /miḡrisiin/

We are married (pl).

(2) Verbal sentences(i) /sirti sihiiha/

You (fem. sing) have become healthy.

(ii) /ilbaab saar mahjuuj/

The door has become closed.

(iii) /ʔaadit hamrah/

She has become red.

(iv) /sirti xayfah min innaas/

You (fem. sing) have become afraid of the people.

The adjective /taahir/ generated as the NP predicate in sentence (1)(i) agrees with its NP subject in gender and number but not in definiteness; therefore, the adjective generated as NP predicate is masculine and singular in agreement with its NP subject ie /ilgalb/ "the heart", but it does not agree with it in definiteness. That is, the NP subject has a noun that is introduced by a definite article whereas the NP predicate does not. As for sentence (1)(ii), it illustrates the above language specific rule that requires a plural inanimate noun to be qualified by a feminine and singular adjective; therefore, this rule also holds controlling the agreement of the adjective generated as the NP predicate with its NP subject. It is in this respect

that the adjective /taahrah/ is feminine and singular in form whereas its head ie the NP subject has a plural inanimate noun ie /guluub/ "hearts".

Sentences (iii) and (iv) also illustrate the non-agreement between the NP predicate and its subject as regards the syntactic feature [± definiteness] but the NP subject is made definite in this case by having a pronominal, which are always associated with definiteness in D.A.D. syntax. These sentences also demonstrate that there is agreement in gender and number between the NP predicate with an adjective as its head and its NP subject; therefore /xabrah/ is feminine and singular because its NP subject is feminine and singular whereas /xabir/ is masculine and singular because its NP subject is masculine and singular. The same sort of agreement in gender and number between the NP predicate with an adjective as its head and its NP subject is demonstrated by sentences (v) - (vii) accordingly, in (v) the adjective is masculine and singular; in (vi) it is feminine and singular, and in (vii) it is plural. That is, despite the fact that the first person singular pronominal in D.A.D. has a form with common gender as shown by sentences (v) and (vi), the adjective generated as its

NP predicate agrees with the sex of the referent of that pronominal, which is generated as its NP subject. Therefore, even when the NP subject has common gender, the NP predicate with an adjective as its head agrees with it in number and with the sex of the referent of that subject but never in the syntactic feature of [+ definite].

The D.A.D. adjective may also be generated as the NP predicate in a verbal sentence with a linking verb, which is defined here as a verb which allows the NP subject to control the gender and number of its NP predicate whether it be with an adjective head or noun head.¹ Therefore, the adjectives /sihiha/, /hamrah/, and /xayfah/ generated as the NP predicate of sentences (2) (i), (iii) and (iv) are feminine and singular in agreement with their NP subject. In sentence (2)(ii), the adjective /mahjuuj/ is masculine and singular in agreement with its NP subject ie /ilbaab/. That is, the control exercised by the NP subject on its NP predicate with an adjective head as regards agreement in gender

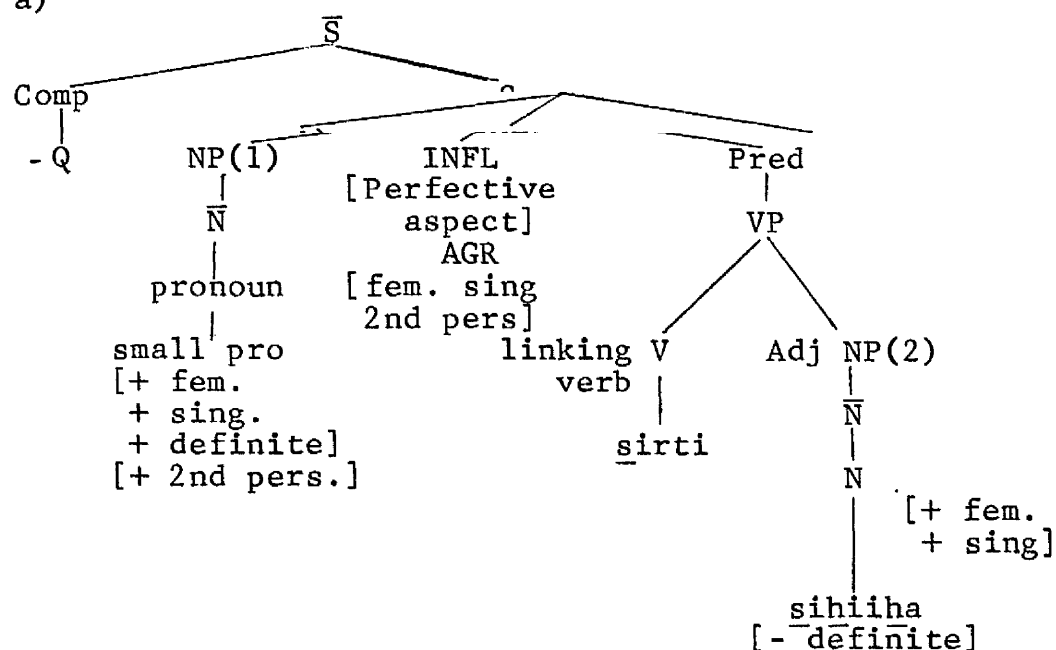
¹An example of a noun as the head of the NP predicate with a linking verb is /ilwalad saar mudarris/ "The boy has become a teacher". The NP predicate of a linking verb is a noun or an adjective but the NP predicate of a reflexive verb is an anaphor. (See pp.141-62 of Introduction and pp. 277-311 of Chapter IV of Part I).

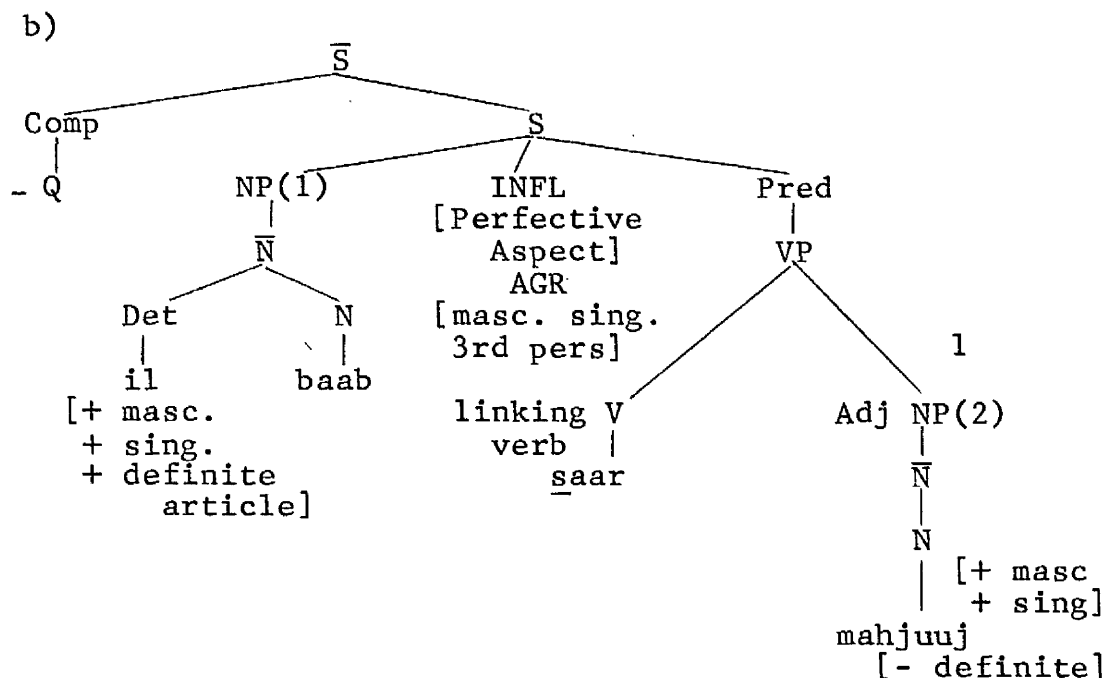
and number still holds in verbal sentences that have linking verbs.

As for the non agreement between the NP subject and its NP predicate as regards the syntactic feature [+definite], this also holds in verbal sentences with linking verbs. This is demonstrated by the fact that the NP subject of sentences (2) (i) - (iv) are all definite but the adjective generated as the NP predicate is not definite. This is also demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (2)(i) and (ii):

(3)

a)





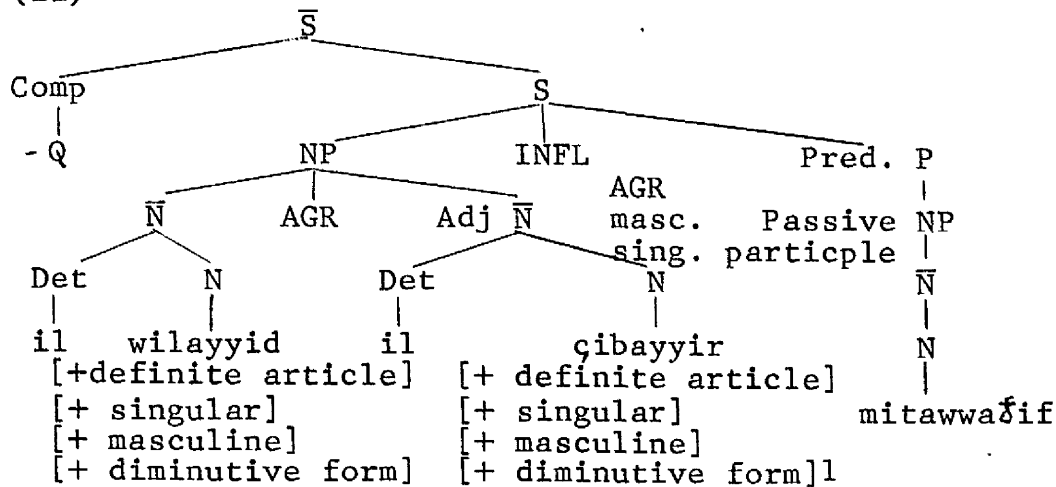
Therefore, the D.A.D. adjective is a nominal because it inflects for number, gender and definiteness. But when it is generated as the NP predicate, it does not inflect for definiteness not because the adjective is incapable of inflecting for definiteness, rather it is a syntactic constraint on the syntactic behaviour of adjectives that are generated as the NP predicate of either nominal or verbal sentences.

¹If the NP subject binds its NP predicate when it is governed by a linking verb, then we have a violation of principle (c) of the binding conditions. This is because the R-expression generated in the NP predicate governed by a linking verb is not free, rather it is bound in its governing category.

Apart from the above nominal properties verifying the nominal status of the D.A.D. adjective, the rule of diminutivization may also be used in verifying the nominal status of adjectives in D.A.D. syntax. Being a nominal, the adjective behaves like a noun in its capacity to be diminutivized. This is demonstrated by the following sentence, in which the NP subject has a noun qualified by an adjective and both the noun and its qualifying adjective have subsumed to the rule of diminutivization.

- (4) $\frac{r}{\text{r}}$
- (i) /{ilwileed }ilçibayyir/mitawwa^çif/
 {ilwilayyid}
 The boy the big is employed.
 NP

(ii)



2.2.2: The D.A.D. Ordinal Numeral

The D.A.D. ordinal numeral inflects for gender and number. It is also always introduced by a definite article. It is in this respect that it is regarded as a nominal in general and an adjectival in particular. Its capacity to inflect for gender and number as well as its requirement to have a definite article is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) //il/?awwal/ šaatir/

The first one (masc. sing) is clever.

¹See Chapter I (section on D.A.D. nouns of Part II for details of the phonological rule of diminutivization).

- (ii) /i1/?awaa?i1/ šatriin/

The first ones (ie the top students) are clever
(pl).

- (iii) /i00aal0ah/ jat/

The third one (fem. sing) came.

- (iv) /i00aal0aat/ rahu/

The third ones (ie the third top students) went.

- (v) /šift irraabših/

I saw the fourth (fem. sing) one.

The above sentences demonstrate that the D.A.D. ordinal numerals always have a definite article. They also demonstrate that they inflect for gender and number. In sentence (i)(i), we have the masculine and singular form; in (i)(ii) we have the plural form and in (iii), we have the feminine and singular form. In sentence (iv), we have the plural form of the ordinal nominal "the third". Sentences (i) - (v) also demonstrate that the ordinal numeral may be generated as the NP subject or the NP object; in sentences (i) - (iv), it is generated as the NP subject and in sentence (v), it is generated as the NP object.

The D.A.D. ordinal numeral may also qualify a noun and in such a case the numeral agrees with its head (ie

the noun) in gender and number. The following sentences illustrate when the ordinal numeral qualifies a noun that is generated as its head within an NP; ie, both the noun and the ordinal numeral are in the same A-position:

(2)

- (i) /ʔana ʔahibb [irrijaal ilʔawwal]/
NP

I love the man the first (masc. sing)

I love the first man.

- (ii) /biyirgid ʃind [maratih ilʔuulah]/
NP

He will be sleeping at his first (fem. sing) wife.

- (iii) /yɪʔt̪iiha l[ilʔawlaad ilʔawaaʔil]/
NP

He gives it (fem. sing) to the top students.

In sentence (2)(i), the ordinal numeral /ilʔawwal/ agrees with its head nominal in gender and number ie the ordinal numeral is masculine and singular in agreement with /irrijaal/. In (2)(ii), it is feminine and singular in agreement with its head nominal ie /maratih/ and in (2)(iii), it is plural in agreement with its head nominal ie /ilʔawlaad/.

The ordinal numeral may also qualify a nominal that is in a different A-position. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /hiy/il?uulah/
NP

She is the first (fem. sing) (ie the top student).

(ii) /huw/il?awwal/
NP

He is the first (masc. sing).

(iii) /hum/il?awaa?il/
NP

They are the top (students).

Despite the fact that the ordinal numeral is generated in the predicate A-position, it is nevertheless controlled by its head nominal, which is the NP subject. That is, the NP predicate which has an ordinal numeral as its head agrees with its NP subject in gender and number. In (i), it is feminine and singular in agreement with /hiy/; in (ii), it is masculine and singular in agreement with /huw/ and in (iii), it is plural in agreement with /hum/.

These sentences also illustrate that the NP predicate with an ordinal numeral also agrees with its NP subject in definiteness. The NP subject in these sentences is definite because it has a pronominal and its NP predicate is also definite because it has an ordinal numeral, which is always introduced by a definite article. It is to be noted that sentences (3) do not

violate the NSC (ie Nominal Sentence Constraint) since it is only the NP predicate that has the definite article.

As a matter of fact, it is due to the NSC that the following are ill-formed sentences:

(4)

(i) /ilbint iθθaalθah/

The third girl.

(ii) /ilwalad irraabiç/

The fourth boy.

(5)

(i) /ilbint --> iθθaalθah/

"The girl", "the third"

(ii) /ilwalad --> irraabiç/

"The boy", "the fourth".

As the NSC constrains the NP subject and its NP predicate from both having a definite article, the constructions in (4) are ill-formed if they are to be regarded as sentences. But if they are regarded as phrases, they are well-formed and there is no violation of the NSC since it is a constraint on sentential configu-

rations, and not phrasal configurations. Therefore, the configurations in (4) are phrasal because they do not subsume to the NSC and this correlates with their meaning, as indicated in (4).

As for the constructions in (5), these too are not sentential in accordance with the NSC. Their non-sentential status is also indicated by the slight pause after /ilbint/ and /ilwalad/. This pause indicates that both /ilbint/ and /ilwalad/ in (5) are the NP topic and not the NP subject, which has been deleted. Therefore, the configurations in (5) are incomplete sentences that have had the ellipsis of the NP subject. Taking sentence (5)(i) as an example, it naturally has the following configuration as its D- and S-structure, in which the NP subject is the pronoun /hiy/.

(6) /ilbint --> fahiy iθθaalθah/

The girl, so she is the third one (fem. sing)
Therefore, as the configurations in (5) are incomplete sentences and as that of (6) subsumes to the NSC, there is no violation of the NSC

Apart from being generated as the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence, the ordinal numeral may also be generated as the NP predicate of the verbal

sentence with a linking verb, in which case it is nevertheless controlled by its NP subject in gender and number. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(7)

(i) /sirti iθθalθih/

You (fem. sing) have become the third (fem. sing) one.

(ii) /θaadit il?uulah/

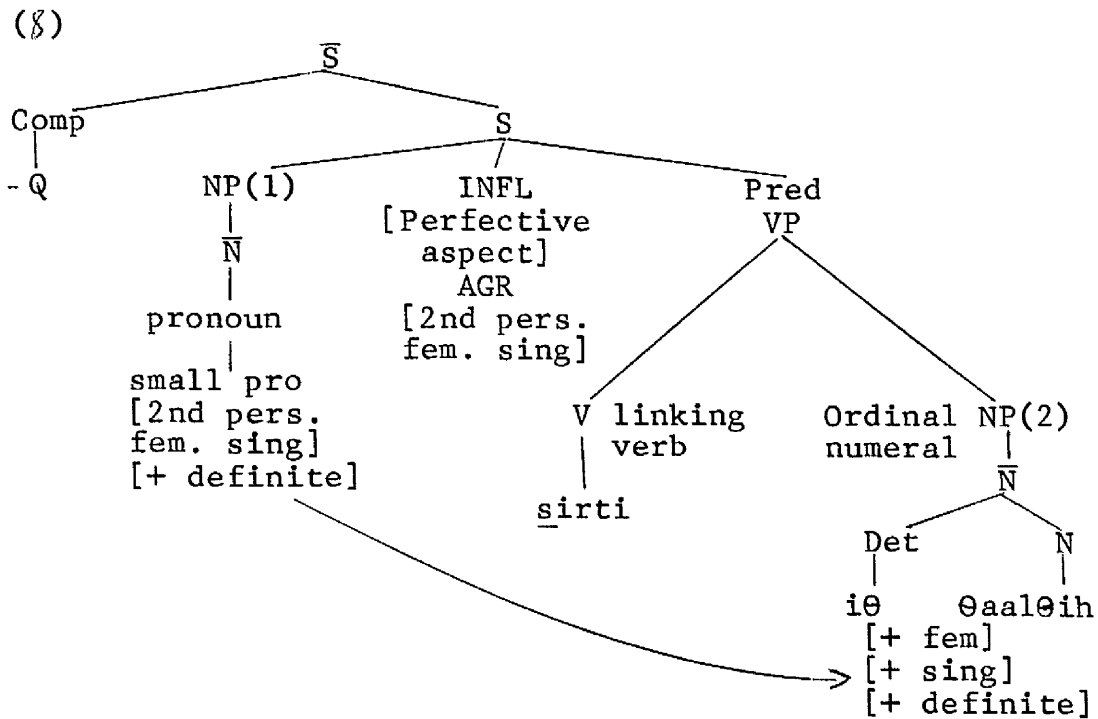
She has become the first (fem. sing) one.

(iii) /ilwalad gaar irraabiθ/

The boy has become the fourth (masc. sing) one.

As with the adjective, the ordinal numeral may be generated as the NP predicate of a verbal sentence with a linking verb. In such a case the NP predicate agrees with its NP subject in gender and number. Therefore, the NP predicate in (7)(i) + (ii) is feminine and singular in agreement with its NP subject and in (7)(iii), it is masculine and singular in agreement with its NP subject.

This agreement of the NP predicate with an ordinal numeral to its NP subject may be demonstrated by the following S-structure of (7)(i):



That is, both NP(1) and NP(2) are feminine singular, as shown by S-structure (§). This is because NP(1) controls the agreement features of NP(2), which is governed by a linking verb. However, the syntactic feature of definiteness in NP(2) is not in agreement with its NPs subject ie NP(1). This is due to the fact that NP(2) has an ordinal numeral, which has a definite article as part of its lexical composition. Therefore, the NP predicate with an ordinal numeral as its head has a similar syntactic behaviour to that with an adjective head since

they both agree with their NP subject in gender and number, but not in definiteness.

As with the adjective head, the control of the NP predicate with an ordinal numeral as its head by its NP subject may be regarded as binding since NP(1) not only c-commands NP(2) but is also coindexed with it. But as both the adjective and the ordinal numeral are nominals in D.A.D. syntax, they are R-expressions that are bound in their governing category, violating principle (c) of the binding conditions.¹

¹See pp. 141-62 of Introduction and pp. 277-311 of Chapter IV, Part I, for a discussion of the binding conditions.

CHAPTER III

2.3: The D.A.D. Participle Subclass

The participle in D.A.D. occurs in a variety of grammatical structures, some verbal, some nominal; and it also exhibits features of both. It resembles the verb in that it is associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes and in that it has voice distinction (ie an active and a passive voice). It resembles the noun in that it may be introduced by a definite article, may be diminutivized, is associated with the nominal suffix /-in/ and behaves as a nominal within the D.A.D. phrase structure rule. As for its capacity to inflect for number, it resembles both the verb and the noun but as it pluralizes by the suffix /-iin/, it is similar to nominals in general and adjectives in particular. Therefore, despite the fact that it shares with the verb some of its characteristics, as above mentioned, it is nevertheless regarded within D.A.D. syntax as a nominal because it shares more characteristics with the nominals whether that of the noun or the adjective than it does with the verb especially as it differs from verbs in its incapacity to inflect for perfectivity and imperfectivity.

Another important difference between the participle and the verb is demonstrated by the fact that the passive participle¹ allows the presence of both the agent and the patient but the passive verb allows only the presence of the patient. This is demonstrated by the following sentences with passive participles in comparison with the sentences with passive verbs:

(1) Sentences with passive participles

- (i) /?ana/makiltin/ilbamyah/

I eaten the okra ie The okra has been eaten by me.

- (ii) /?ana/miyasiltin/min ha/

I am cleansed (fem. sing) from it (fem. sing).

- (iii) /huw/mitqalzin/filqabd/

He is hung in the liver.

(2) Sentences with passive verbs

- (i) /huw/yintaakil/

It (masc. sing) is edible [masc. sing]

- (ii) /ilbamyah/tintaakil/

The okra is edible [fem. sing]

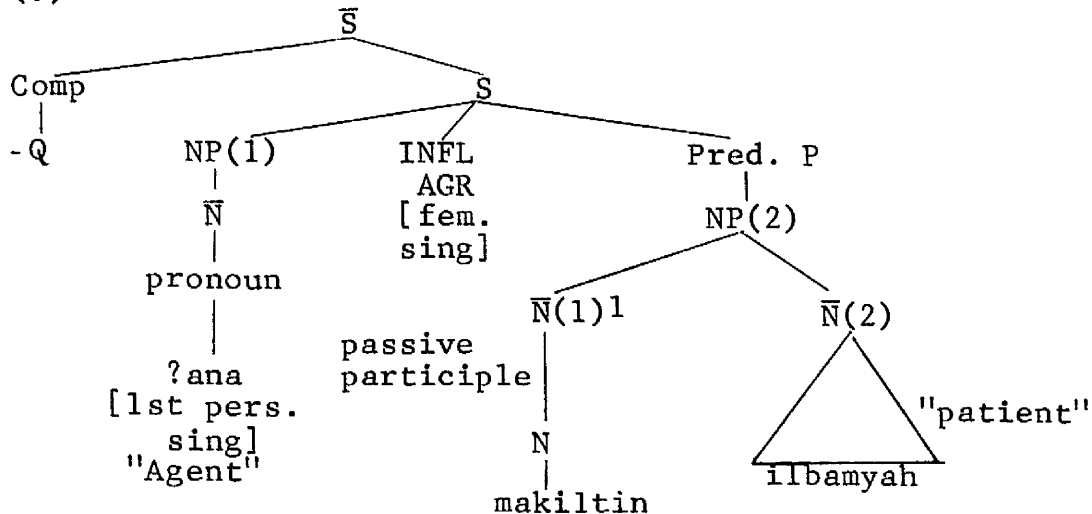
- (iii) */hiy/tintaakilha/

She eaten it [fem. sing]

¹See p. 424 for a definition of the passive participle in D.A.D. syntax.

As sentences (1) have a passive participle, it is possible to have both the agent and the patient of the action. This is demonstrated by sentence (1)(i), in which there is /?ana/ as the agent and /ilbamyah/ as the patient. It is also possible to have only the patient and this demonstrated by sentence (1)(iii), in which /huw/ is the patient. On the other hand, when there is a passive verb, the NP subject may only be the patient of the action and this is demonstrated by sentences (2)-(i) and (ii). When there is also the agent of the action, we have an ill-formed sentence, as demonstrated by sentence (2)(iii). Therefore, the passive participle differs from the passive verb in that it allows the presence of both the agent and the patient of the action. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(i), in which the passive participle /makiltin/ has both an "agent" and a "patient."

(3)



Therefore, the D.A.D. participle cannot be regarded as a verbal because it differs from the verb in that it does not inflect for perfectivity and imperfectivity and in its syntactic behaviour in allowing even the passive

¹Being a nominal, the participle cannot assign Case to its complement, and therefore, /ilbamyah/ will remain Caseless especially as percolation is not applicable to NP(2) (ie it has no AGR) and possessive Case cannot be assigned to N(2) because it does not hold a possessive relation to N(1). In order to see to it that it is assigned Case we have to amend percolation slightly so that it assigns Case to the complements of participles despite the fact the the NP with a participle as its head does not have AGR. That is, the revised version of percolation states that the Case of the dominating NP percolates down to the head of that NP and its complements when that NP has AGR and when the head of that NP is a participle. With the less constrained view of percolation, Case percolates from NP(2) down to both N(1) and N(2), assigning to both nominals Nominative Case.

participle to have both the "agent" and the "patient" of the action, as shown above. It is also not a noun or an adjective despite its many similarities with both the noun and the adjective in D.A.D. syntax. It is in this respect that the participle is classified under a separate subclass in the general class for D.A.D. nominals. This subclass shares some characteristics with the noun, the adjective and the verb, each characteristic of which is to be dealt with separately in the following discussion.

2.3.1: The Verbal Characteristics of the D.A.D. Participle

Two of the characteristics of the D.A.D. participle are verbal. These are its capacity to share voice distinction with the verb and its association with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, which locally determine the generation of a complement small pro. The second verbal characteristic leads to the fact that the participle subcategorizes for a complement that is assigned the θ role "patient".

2.3.1.1: The Voice Distinction of the D.A.D. Participle

The fact that the D.A.D. participle has an active and a passive voice is a verbal characteristic. The active voice is characterized by the phonological structure /CaaCic/; and the passive voice may be characterized by the prefix /MV-/. It is nevertheless not to be denied that the passive participle incorporates other structures and that not all sets of radicals have both an active and a passive participial form. However, it is sufficient for the purpose of this discussion to show that the D.A.D. participles have a voice distinction (ie an active and a passive voice) and this is taken to be one of the verbal characteristics associated with the participle in D.A.D. syntax.

This voice distinction in the D.A.D. participle may be demonstrated by the following sentences, in which the first sentence has an active participle and the second sentence has a passive participle:

(1)

(i) /huw/šaayifha gubl yidxil ɣaliiha/

He seeing her before he marries her.

(ii) /hiy/māḍguugatin/bibrah/

She is battered by an injection ie She has fallen

ill because of an injection.

In discussing the other characteristics whether verbal or nominal of the participle, many more examples indicating the presence of active and passive participial forms in D.A.D. syntax are to be provided.

2.3.1.2: The Association of the Participle with the Verbal Set of Pronominal Suffixes

The second verbal characteristic of the D.A.D. participle is its association with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, which have the /-ni/ form for the pronominal features of first person singular. These pronominal suffixes function as the local determiners for the generation of a complement small pro. This is illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1) Active participles

(i) /hiy/ ʔaayb/it/ni¹ fi ʔa/

It (fem. sing) absenting me there ie When I was

¹The pattern of the active participle is /Caacic/ ie /ʔaayib/ but the vowel /-i-/ has been deleted because of the insertion of the feminine marker /-t-/. And to break this four consonant cluster of /y- b- t- n/, an epenthetic vowel has been inserted ie /-i-/ after the final radical ie /-b/ and before the feminine marker ie /-t-/.

there, my menstrual period stopped coming.

(ii) /huw/šaayifha/

He seeing her.

(iii) /huw/šaayifhum/

He seeing them.

(2) Passive participle

(i) /rijaali mihaasirni/

My husband has imprisoned me.

(ii) /rijaalha mihaasirha/

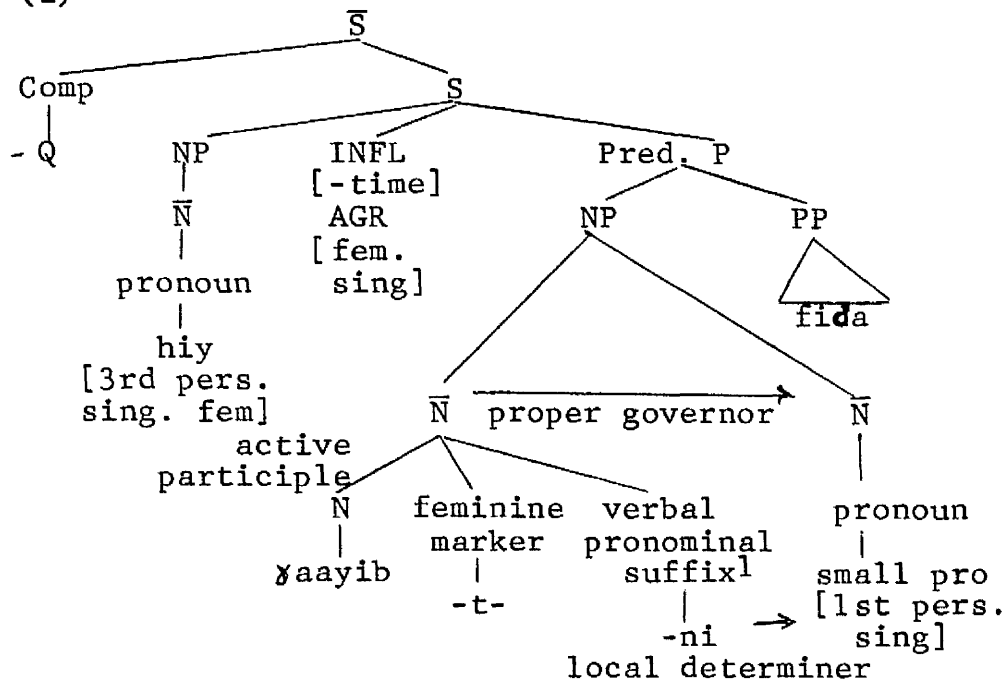
Her husband imprisoned her.

(iii) /haaʕi --> huw maxirha gublihum/

This one (fem. sing), he taken her before them.

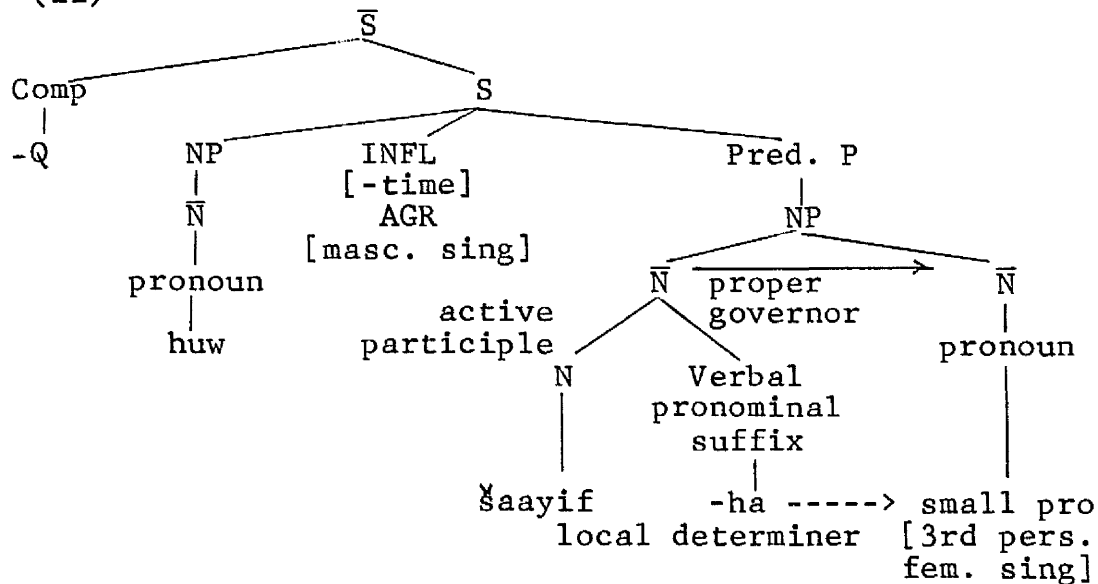
(3)

(i)

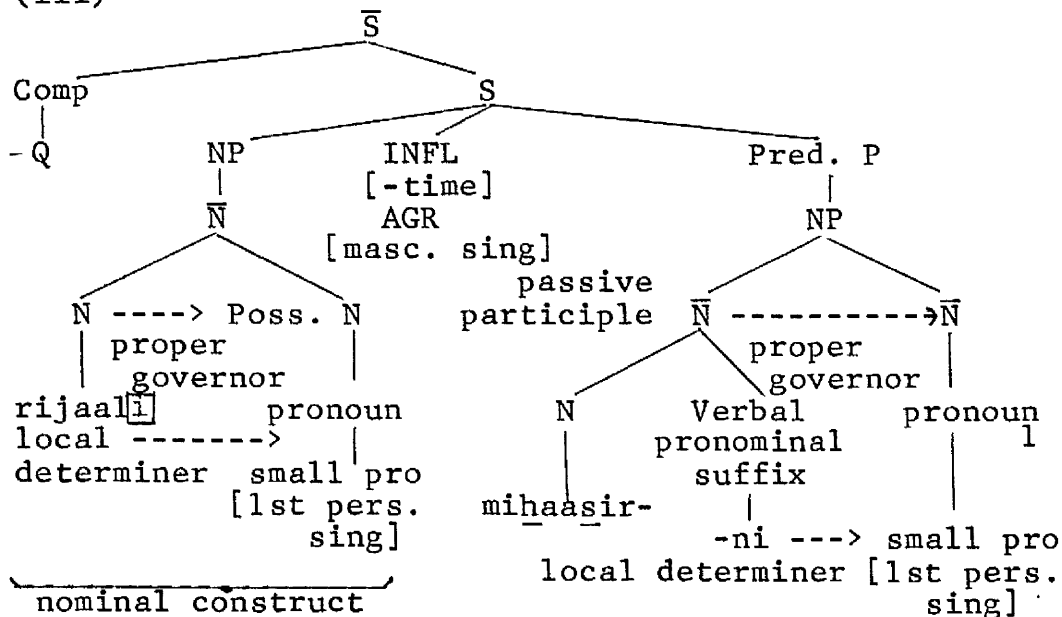


¹The D.A.D. participle may carry pronominal suffixes and it differs in this respect from Egyptian Arabic, which happens to be the native Arabic dialect of the writer. In EA, sentence 3(i) is as follows: /hiyya ʔaabit ʕanni/ "It (fem. sing) is absent from me." The verbal suffix ie /-ni/ is not carried by the participle itself; rather it is carried by the preposition that follows the participle ie /ʕanni/.

(ii)



(iii)



¹See p. 422 for a discussion of the Case assignment of the complement of the participle. Note that it is an NP without AGR and yet should not be assigned possessive Case.

The above sentences and their S-structures demonstrate that the D.A.D. participle is associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, which are carried by the D.A.D. verb and the preposition. It is in this respect that the D.A.D. participle is regarded as having a verbal characteristic. These sentences and S-structures also demonstrate that the verbal set of pronominal suffixes are identical in form with the nominal set except for the form of the first person singular. And despite their identity of form, they differ in function since they locally determine the generation of a complement small, and not a possessive small pro.

Another verbal characteristic of the D.A.D. participle and one that is related to its association with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes is the fact that it assigns to its complement the θ role "patient". This complement may be a small pro that is locally determined by the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, as shown by sentences (1) and (2) as well as their S-structures, and it may also be a noun, as demonstrated by the following sentences:

(4) Active participles

- (i) /hiy/
- /jaayibtin/
- wileed/

She is bringing a baby boy.

- (ii) /hiy/
- /ʕaabitdin/
- raabaha/

She is praying her God.

- (iii) /huw/
- /haafrin/
- gabrih/

He is digging his grave.

(5) Passive participle

- (i) /hiy/
- /maxiʕtin/
- harrijaal/

She taken (fem. sing) this man.

- (ii) /ilbint/
- /maxiʕtin/
- harrijaal/

The girl taken this man.

As can be seen from sentences (4), the participles have the complements /wileed/, /raabaha/, and /gabrih/. They are assigned the θ role "patient" by their governor ie the participle. Similarly, the noun introduced by the specifier /ha-/ and the definite article (ie /harrijaal/ in sentences (5)) is assigned the θ role "patient" because it is the complement of a participle. Therefore, the participle shares with the verb the fact that it assigns its complement the θ role "patient".¹

¹The complement of the noun, on the other hand, is assigned the θ role "identifier" when the NP has AGR and "possessor" when it does not. (See Introduction, pp. 37-47.

2.3.2: The Nominal Characteristics of the D.A.D. Participle

The nominal characteristics of the D.A.D. participle are indicated by its similarity to the noun and the adjective since both the noun and the adjective form subclassess in the general class for D.A.D. nominals.

2.3.2.1: The Adjective Characteristics of the D.A.D. Participle

The D.A.D. participle is similar to the adjective in its capacity to inflect for gender and to inflect for number by carrying the suffix /-iin/.

2.3.2.1.1: Inflection for Gender

The participle in D.A.D. inflects for gender and this is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) Active participle

(i) /hiy /jaayibtin/ bint/

She bringing (fem. sing.) a girl.

(ii) /huw /jaayibin/ bint/

He bringing (masc. sing) a girl.

(iii) /?ana /šaayiltin/ hurmah/

I carrying (fem. sing) a woman

(iv) /?ana/ šaaylin hurmah/

I carrying (masc. sing) a woman.

(2) Passive participle

(i) /?ana/ mawluudin fil şamiyyah/

I am born (masc. sing) in şamiyyah.

(ii) /?ana/ mawluuda~~t~~in fil şamiyyah/

I am born (fem. sing) in şamiyyah.

(iii) /huw/ mawluudin fil şamiyyah/

He is born in şamiyyah

(iv) /hiy/ mawluuda~~t~~in fil şamiyyah/

She is born in şamiyyah.

In sentences (1)(i) and (iii), the participle inflects for gender in agreement with its NP subject. That is, in (1)(i), the NP subject is the pronominal /hiy/ and the participle agrees with it in gender, becoming feminine in gender as indicated by the /-t-/ infix found in /jaayibtin/. This infex is also found in (1)(iii) because the participle agrees with the sex of the referent of the pronominal /?ana/, which has common gender. Accordingly, this infex /-t-/, disappears in (1)(ii) because the subject is masculine in gender. This demonstrates that the D.A.D. active participle inflects for

gender by means of the infix /-t-/.

In a similar respect, the passive participle also inflects for gender. This is also indicated by the /-t/ infix in sentences (2)(ii) and (iv). In these sentences the participle is feminine in form in agreement with its NP subject. In (2)(iv), the gender of the NP subject is indicated by the pronominal /hiy/ and in (2)(ii), it is indicated by the sex of the referent of the pronominal /?ana/.

Therefore, the D.A.D. participle is similar to the adjective in that it inflects for gender. It is also similar to the adjective in that it inflects for gender only when it is singular in form. But it differs from the adjective in the form of the feminine marker ie the infix /-t-/ is the feminine marker in the participle but it is the suffix /-h/ that is the feminine marker in the adjective.

Apart from demonstrating that the participle inflects for gender, the above discussion has also shown that the participle is also similar to the adjective and the noun in that it does not inflect for person. This is verified by the fact that the infix /-t-/ appears in

the singular feminine forms of the active and the passive participle regardless of the person of its NP subject; therefore, it appears in sentences (1)(i) and (2)(iv) as well as (1)(iii) and (2)(ii). And the incapacity of the D.A.D. participle to inflect for person provides further evidence of its nominal status since nominals do not inflect for persons whereas verbs do. Therefore, by looking at the participles capacity to inflect for gender, we come across another but related nominal characteristic of the participle, ie, its incapacity to inflect for person.

2.3.2.1.2: Inflection for number

The participle also inflects for number and it is associated with one of the plural suffixes that is only carried by nominals. That is, despite the fact that both the verb and the noun in D.A.D. inflect for number, yet the participle inflects for number only by means of a nominal suffix, and not by means of the plural suffix carried by verbs. It is in this respect that its capacity to inflect for number is regarded as a nominal characteristic. And as this plural suffix that is associated with the D.A.D. participle is the plural suffix by which all adjectives are pluralized, it is regarded

not only as a nominal characteristic on the general level but on a more particular level as an adjectival characteristic. This in turn verifies its nominal status since adjectives have been shown to be nominals in the D.A.D. syntactic system.

The following sentences illustrate that the participle does inflect for number by means of the nominal suffix /-iin/, which is one of the nominal suffixes for the indication of plurality.

(1) Active participle

- (i) /hum/gaaym/iin/min innoom/

They getting (pl.) up from the sleep.

- (ii) /intum/haaf/iin/gabrikum/

You (pl.) digging (pl.) your (pl.) grave.

- (iii) /?inhin/saabd/iin/raabina/

We praying (pl.) our god.

(2) Passive participle

- (i) /hum/mizayyin/iin/wi miçaasiin/

They are decorated and clothed (ie dressed).

- (ii) /banaat hum/mijwiz/iin/

Their daughters are marriageable.

The above sentences illustrate that both the active and the passive participle in D.A.D. inflect for number

by carrying the suffix /-iin/, which is the suffix that pluralizes all adjectives and some masculine nouns.

The similarity between the participle and the adjective as regards inflection for gender and number has been given as evidence of the nominal status of the participle in D.A.D. syntax. However, the participle does not belong to the same subclass to which the adjective belongs. This is because the feminine marker for the participle, as indicated earlier, is the infix /-t-/ whereas it is the suffix /-h/ for the adjective. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, the former group of which has a participle and the latter group of which has an adjective:

(3) Active participle

- (i) /intum/jaayɕiin/ willa la?/

You (pl.) are hungry or not.

- (ii) /inti/jaayɪɕtin/ willa la?/

You (fem. sing) are hungry or not.

- (iii) /inta/jaayɕin/ willa la?/

You (masc. sing) are hungry or not.

(4) Adjective

- (i) /intum/jiwiɕiin/ willa la?/

You (pl.) are hungry or not.

(ii) /inti jiwi⁹ih willa la?/

You (fem. sing) are hungry or not.

(iii) /inta jiwi⁹ willa la?/

You (masc. sing) are hungry or not.

Therefore, despite the fact that both the participle and the adjective inflect for plurality by means of the plural suffix /-iin/, yet they differ as regards the feminine marker. This difference is demonstrated by sentences (3)(ii) and (4)(ii) ie in the former sentence it is the infix /-t-/ but in the latter sentence it is the suffix /-h/ that is the feminine marker. The adjective also differs from the participle in that the participle also has the suffix /-in/, which is discussed under the similarity between the participle and the noun. This suffix is found in the participles in sentences (3)(ii) and (iii). It is due to such differences that the participle forms a distinct subclass in the Nominal class despite its above mentioned similarity with the adjective.

2.3.2.2: The Noun Characteristics of the D.A.D. Participle

The noun characteristics of the D.A.D. participle are its capacity to be introduced by a definite article, to carry the suffix /-in/, to diminutivize and to behave in the D.A.D. phrase structure rule as a noun, and not as a verb. That is, it requires a free pronoun or a noun as its NP subject and not a small pro.

2.3.2.2.1: Inflection for definiteness

The participle in D.A.D. also inflects for definiteness ie it may be introduced by a definite article. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) Active participle

- (i) /il/ʔaabin/ firidʔa ʔallah/

The sadness is in the pleasure of God ie One should only be sad when one disappoints the Lord.

- (ii) /is/ʔaabil/ ʔaxyar min ittaajir/

The patient man is better than the rich man.

- (iii) /is/ʔaakil/ ʔaxyar min ittaajir/

The thankful man is better than the rich man.

- (iv) /ʔallah yihibb/ is/ʔaabil/ .

God loves the patient man.

(2) Passive participle

- (i) /timsik/ il migçidi/

She holds her bottom (so as to help her to give birth to her child)

- (ii) /yikinisuun ɕugb ilmuujibih/

They sweep after the place for gathering ie after the festival.

- (iii) /mahuub sirjiil min ha-1/muujammaaC/

He is not dishonourable from these gangsters ie
The people who hang^{around} uselessly.

The boxed words in sentences (1) are active participles because they have the phonological pattern /CaaCic/ and those of sentences (2) are passive participles because they are nominals that have the prefix /MV-/. And as shown by sentences (1) and (2) both the active as well as the passive participle may be introduced by a definite article.

The fact that the boxed nominals in sentences (1) and (2) are participles and not nouns or adjectives is indicated firstly by the pattern /CaaCic/ for the active participle and secondly by their invariable forms that do not have gender and do not inflect for number. This points to the fact that the participle differs from both the noun and the adjective in that it inflects for definiteness (ie by having a definite article), and yet main-

tains an invariable form that does not show gender or number distinction. It is in this respect that the boxed forms in (2) are participles, and are not adjectives with the prefix /MV-/ since adjectives inflect for gender and number even when they are introduced by a definite article.

Similarly, the boxed forms in (1) and (2) are not nouns because nouns have gender distinction and inflect for number even when they are introduced by a definite article. Therefore, the boxed forms in (1) and (2) are participles inflecting for definiteness, in which case they maintain invariable forms. This provides further evidence why the participle forms a distinct subclass in the general class for D.A.D. nominals despite its similarity with nominals such as the noun and the adjective.

2.3.2.2.2: The Diminutivization of the D.A.D. Participle

The D.A.D. participle is similar to the noun and the adjective in that it subsumes to the rule of diminutivization. But the examples of diminutivized participles that have been cited in my corpus are all active participles. This is illustrated by the following sentences, which have the diminutive form of the active participle /i^{ff}aaʒif/ ie "the weak or the poor".

(1)

(i) /i~~ð~~aa~~ʃ~~aʃayyif ʔaxyar min ittaajir/

The poor are better than the rich.

(ii) /huw ~~ð~~aʃayyif/

He is poor or weak.

In both sentences (1)(i) and (ii), the active participle /~~ð~~aa~~ʃ~~if/, which has the phonological pattern of /CaaCic/ has been diminutivized to become /(i~~ð~~)~~ð~~aʃayyif/¹

2.3.2.2.3: The D.A.D. Participle and the Suffix /-in/

The syntactic distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness in D.A.D. does not equate a distinction in reference between definiteness and indefiniteness.² This has been demonstrated by the fact that a noun indefinite in reference carries the /-in/ suffix only when it is generated as the NP predicate in the D.A.D. sentential configuration whether verbal or nominal. On the other hand, when it is generated as the NP subject it is not only incapable of carrying the /-in/ but it may even

¹For a discussion of the phonological rule of diminutivization, see Chapter I, Part II, pp. 379-381.

²See pp. 372-9 of Chapter I, Part II, for further discussion of this distinction as regards the D.A.D. noun.

be introduced by a definite article. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /ilhamiir yidawaruun hamiirin miθilhum/

Donkeys search for donkeys like them, ie
Birds of a feather flock together.

(ii) /ilmuyyyah waajid/

Water is plentiful.

(iii) /ilbanaat balawiyy/

Girls are catastrophes.

The nouns /ilhamiir/, /ilmuyyyah/ and /ilbanaat/ in the above sentences are introduced by a definite article even though they are not definite in reference ie /ilhamiir/ does not refer to a definite group of donkeys; /ilmuyyyah/ does not refer to a specific amount of water; and /ilbanaat/ does not refer to a definite group of girls. On the other hand, /hamiirin/ carries the suffix /-in/ because it is generated as the NP predicate. That is, despite the fact both nouns ie /ilhamiir/ and /hamiirin/ in sentence (1)(i) do not refer to a specific group of donkeys, yet the former noun is introduced by a definite article whereas the latter noun carries the suffix /-in/ and this is due to the fact that /ilhamiir/

is generated as the NP subject and /hamiirin/ is generated as the NP predicate.

Apart from being restricted to the NP predicate, the /-in/ suffix is also restricted to nouns that are not in a prepausal position. That is, a noun may be indefinite in reference and may be generated as the NP predicate, and yet it does not have the /-in/ suffix because it is generated in a prepausal position. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which the first sentence has a noun with the /-in/ suffix and the second sentence does not because it is in a prepausal position:

(2)

(i) /çindih/bintin/filbeet/

He has a daughter at home

(ii) /çindih/bint/ He has a daughter.

Therefore, the /-in/ suffix is a nominal suffix that is not so much associated with indefiniteness in reference as it is a syntactic marker that is carried by nominals that are generated as the NP predicate that is not in a prepausal position.

It is in this respect that the /-in/ suffix is associated with the D.A.D. participle. That is, as the

participle does not inflect for perfectivity and imperfectivity and displays nominal properties, it is a nominal in D.A.D. syntax; and in turn, it carries the /-in/ suffix whenever it is generated as the NP predicate that is not in a prepausal position. But as the participle is not a noun, it differs from the noun in that it carries this suffix /-in/ only when it is singular in form ie a plural participle, unlike a plural noun, does not carry the /-in/ suffix. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(A) Active participles

(i) /hiy/ /jaayibt/in/ bint/

She bringing a girl.

(ii) /huw/ /gaaym/in/ min innoom/

He getting up from sleep.

(iii) /huw/ /haafy/in/ gabrih/

He digging his grave.

(iv) /hiy/ /ʕaabit/in/ raabaha/

She praying her God.

(v) /ʔana/ /ʕaayift/in/ hurmah/

I seeing a woman.

(B) Passive participle

(i) /ʔana mawluuɖin/ filʕamiyyah/

I am born [masc. sing] in El-ʕamiyyah.

(ii) /hiy mitallagitin/ min rijaalha/

She is divorced [fem. sing] from her husband.

(iii) /ʔana mitallagitin/minih/

I am divorced [fem. sing] from him.

As can be seen from sentences (3), both the active and the passive participle carry the suffix /-in/ when they are generated as the NP predicate that is not in a prepausal position and when they are singular in form.

It is this nominal characteristic of the D.A.D. participle that also distinguishes it from the D.A.D. noun as well as the adjective. This is because the noun whether singular or plural in form carries this suffix when it is generated as the NP predicate that is not in a prepausal position. As for the adjective, it never carries that suffix even when it is generated as the NP predicate that is not in a prepausal position. Therefore, the association of the participle with the /-in/ suffix not only indicates its nominal status but also differentiates it from both the noun and the adjective and this provides one of the reasons why the parti-

ciples have been classified under a separate subclass in the general class for D.A.D. nominals.

2.3.2.2.4: The Participle and the D.A.D. Phrase Structure Rule

The syntactic behaviour of the participle within the D.A.D. phrase structure rule is similar to the noun in that it requires a free pronoun or a noun as its NP subject. This is because the participle, being a nominal, does not inflect for person and, accordingly, does not have heavy inflection, which functions as the local determiner for the generation of a small pro. Consequently, when the participle is generated as the head of the predicate phrase, it requires a free pronoun or a noun and cannot have a small pro as its subject. It behaves in this respect not only as a noun generated as the head of the predicate phrase but also as an adjective because both the noun and the adjective are nominals and this is the syntactic behaviour of a nominal in D.A.D. syntax.

The following sentences demonstrate the fact that the D.A.D. participle generated as the head of the predicate phrase requires a free pronoun or a noun as its subject:

(1) Active participles

- (i) /hiy /
- gaayimtin
- / bibeetha/

She taking care of her house.

- (ii) /hiy /
- saayintin
- / çir
- ~~f~~
- ih/

She preserving his good name.

- (iii) /?umayyiti /
- šaaditin
- / binayyitiç/

My dear little mother taking care of your (fem. sing) dear little daughter.

(2) Passive participle

- (i) /banaathum /
- mijwiziin
- /

Their daughters are marriageable.

- (ii) /hum /
- miçaasiin
- /

They are clothed ie dressed.

- (iii) /huw /
- mitçalzin
- / filçabd/

He hung in the liver ie a difficult case of delivery.

In sentences (1)(i) and (ii), the subject is a free pronoun and in (1)(iii), it is a noun. Similarly, in (2)(ii) and (iii), the subject is a free pronoun whereas in (2)(i), it is a noun.

Small pro, on the other hand, can only be the subject of a sentence with a participle as the head of its predicate phrase when that sentence has a local determi-

ner in its Comp for its generation. Such is the case with the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /tawwaha¹ --> jaayibtin wileed/

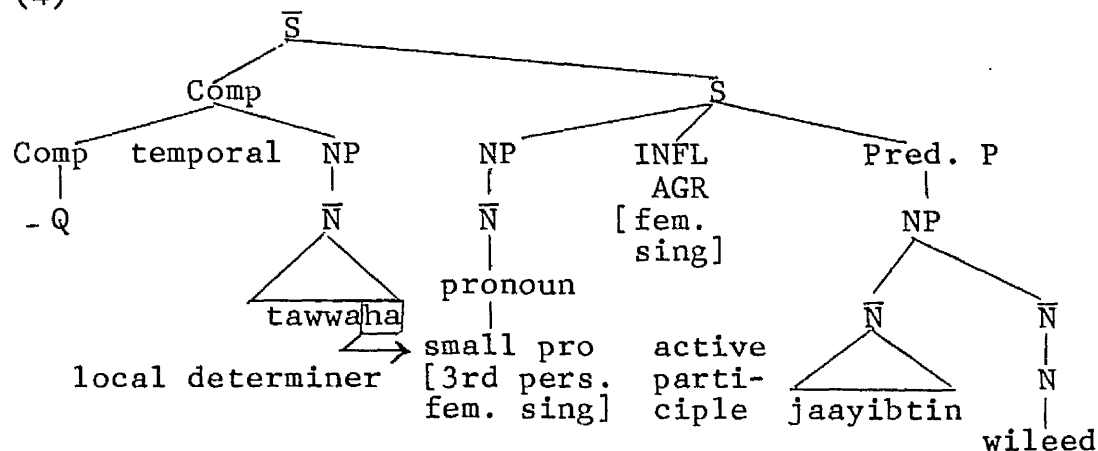
Recently, she bringing a baby boy.

(ii) /tawwih --> gaaymin min innoom/

Recently, he getting up from sleep.

That these sentences have a small pro as their NP subject is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence 3(i):

(4)



As with the noun and the adjective, the participle generated as the head of the predicate phrase cannot locally determine the generation of a subject small pro

¹See pp.615-25 of Chapter IV for a discussion of /taww + pronominal suffix/.

but the nominal sentence it is generated in may have a subject small pro if that small pro is locally determined by an element in Comp. And this incapacity of the participle to locally determine the generation of a subject small pro is because a nominal does not inflect for person. This again verifies the nominal status of the participle in D.A.D. syntax; and accordingly, it behaves in the D.A.D. Phrase Structure Rule as a noun, and not as a verb.

CHAPTER IV

2.4: The D.A.D. Temporal Nominal Subclass

Before embarking on the description of some of the D.A.D. temporal nominals, we would like to differentiate between the temporal nominal and the temporal. The former is a word class that shows similarity with the noun whereas the latter is a phrase or a clause that is generated in Comp. and determines the time reference of the matrix clause it introduces. The following sentences represent the various types of temporals that are found in D.A.D. syntax:

(1)

(i) /min yoom tijiin/wana wayyahum/

From day that you are coming, and I am with them

I've been with them ever since the day you came

(ii) /filleel/ --> iddarṣiyyah barad/

At night, Darṣiyyah is cold.

(iii) /yoom irribuuṣ/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

Wednesday, the water is plentiful.

(iv) /halhiin/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

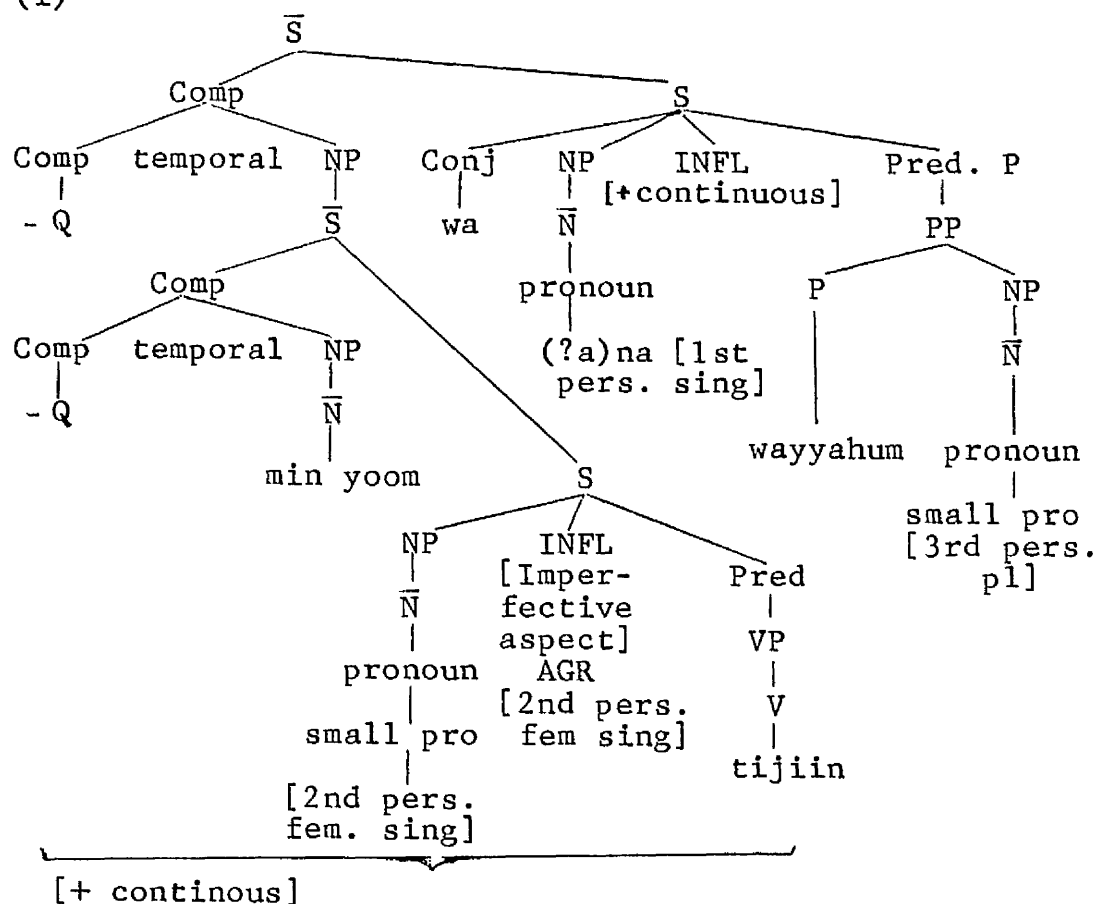
This time (ie Now), the water is plentiful.

In sentence (1)(i), the temporal is a verbal clause; in (ii), it is a PP; in (iii), it is a nominal construct

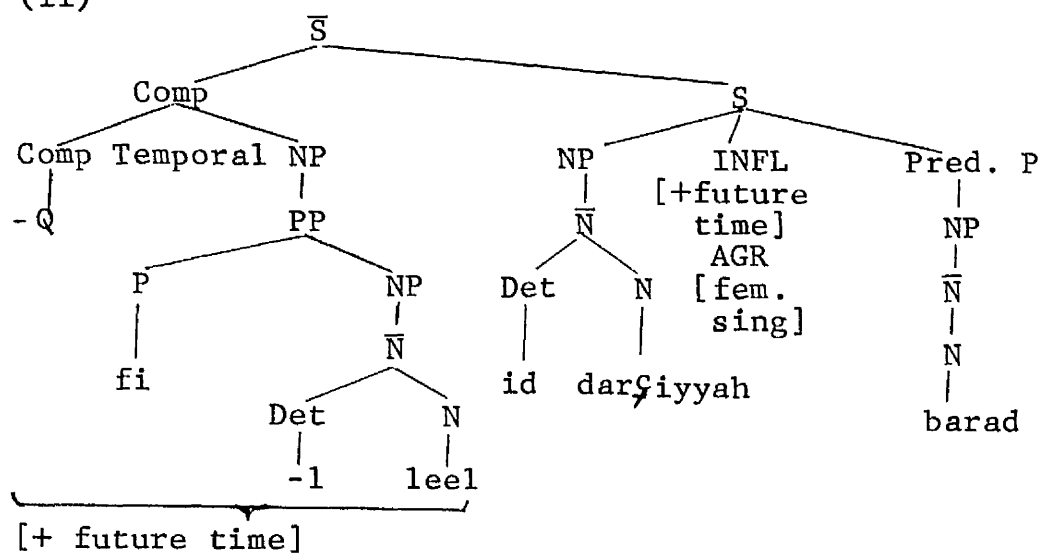
and in (iv), it is a temporal nominal. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of the above sentences:

(2)

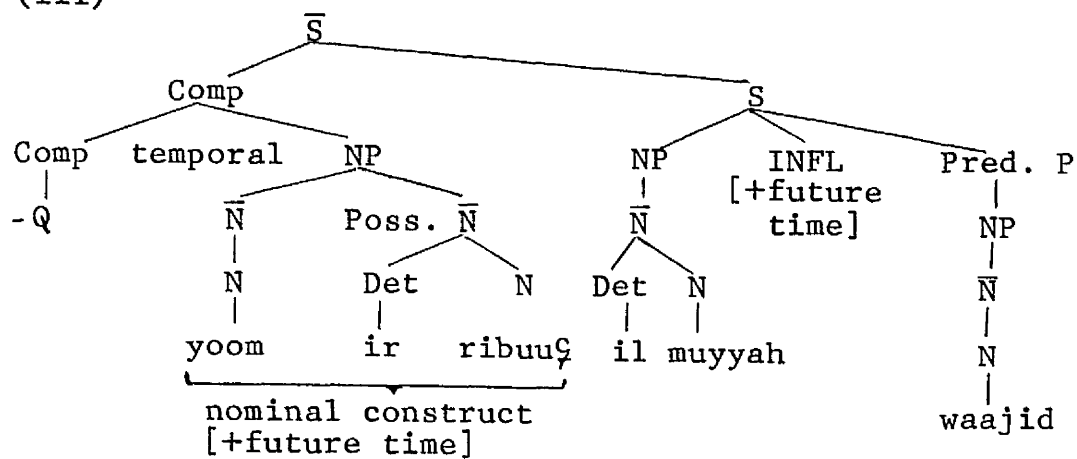
(i)



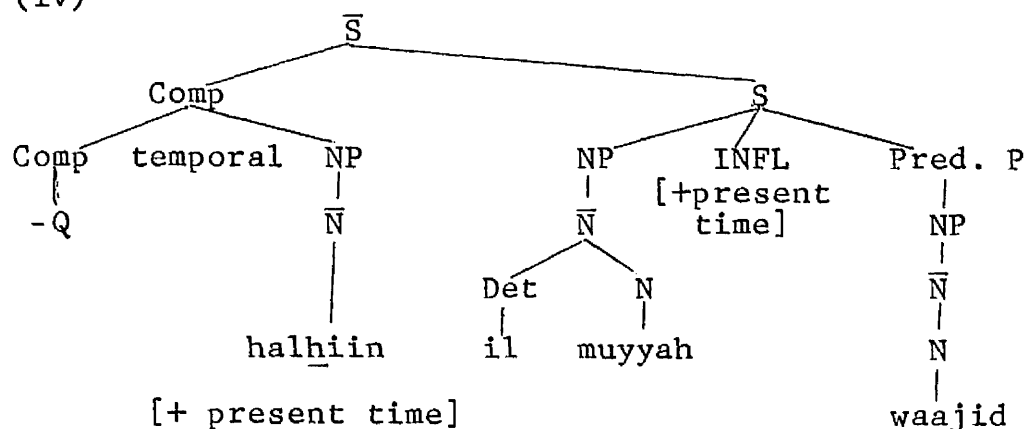
(ii)



(iii)



(iv)



As can be seen from S-structure (2)(1), the temporal clause makes the S node it introduces acquire the syntactic feature $[+ \text{continuous}]$, which is registered in its INFL. The temporal PP in (2)(ii) makes the S node it introduces acquire the syntactic feature $[+ \text{future time}]$. Similarly, the temporal nominal construct in (2)-(iii) makes its S node acquire the syntactic feature $[+ \text{future time}]$ and the temporal nominal in (2)(iv) makes the S node acquire the syntactic feature $[+ \text{present time}]$. That is, all these syntactic features are registered in INFL since INFL is the head of S node and the temporal in D.A.D. may, therefore, be defined as a clause or a phrase (ie PP, a nominal construct or a temporal nominal) that is generated in Comp. for the deter-

mination of the time reference of the S node it introduces and regardless of its internal structure, it is always dominated by an NP, as shown by S-structures (2), for the sake of its θ marking.

The four types of temporals, above mentioned, may be grouped into two basic types: nominal and verbal. As the temporal PP, the temporal nominal construct, and the temporal nominal do not have a VP category, they are regarded as being nominal in structure. As for the temporal clause, it is verbal in structure because it has a VP category. And as the interest of this thesis is basically on the nominals, very little is said on the temporal clause, which is always verbal in structure.

Accordingly, it is sufficient to point out here that a temporal clause is a verbal clause that may be introduced by a temporal nominal or a temporal particle. When the temporal clause is introduced by a temporal particle, it refers to factual events that make no reference to past events but when it is introduced by a temporal nominal, it refers to specific past events. This may be demonstrated by the following sentences, in which there are temporal clauses:

(3) Temporal clauses introduced by a temporal particle¹

- (i) //ila jah iššita/ ḡaharna/

When winter comes, we leave.

- (ii) //ila jat il ʕazayyim/ yilbisum nafs - iddaraʕah/

When the feast comes, they wear the same dress ie same type of dress.

- (iii) /nigʕid /ileen ʔallah yijjibih//

We sit until God brings him.

(4) Temporal clauses introduced by a temporal nominal

- (i) /huw haafrin gabrih/ gublima yimuut/

He digging his grave before he dies.

- (ii) //ʕugbima maat ʔabu ʕiylaani/ ʔinni fi faggir/

After the father of my children died, I surely am in poverty ie After my husband died, I was in complete poverty.

- (iii) //yoom xalaaha/ xaʕaha/

¹The study of the D.A.D. temporal clauses should be undertaken as a separate study because it involves intricate factors such as the control exercised by the temporal clause on the verb of the matrix clause and the control of the temporal particle or nominal on the verb of the temporal clause. The importance of the temporal clause in this thesis is to show that the temporal may also be clausal in structure and not just clausal in status.

Day he left her, he took her.
 X Y Z Y

(iv) //yoom ?innaha darat/ /yoom ?innih xaḥaha/

The day she became aware (ie of his infidelity),
 the day he married this other woman.

That is, sentence (3)(i) refers to the general idea that "In winter, we leave"; (3)(ii) refers to the general idea that "Everyone wears the same type of dress during the feast"; and (3)(iii) indicates that it is the tradition of these people to wait until God brings back the missing man. Sentences (4), on the other hand, refer to specific past events ie in (4)(i) there is reference to the time before his death; in (4)(ii) there is reference to the time after her husband's death; in (4)(iii) there is reference to the day he left her; and in (4)(iv) there is reference to the day she became aware of his infidelity and it is the day he married his second wife.

Apart from the above difference in meaning between a temporal clause introduced by a temporal particle and that introduced by a temporal nominal, there is also a difference in structure since the temporal clause in the former case is introduced by a particle whereas in the latter case, it is introduced by a nominal. The nominal status of /gublima/ and /ṣugbima/ is indicated by the

fact that the relative pronoun /ma/ is part of their lexical composition. As for the nominal status of /yoom (?inn + a pronominal suffix)/, it is indicated by the presence of a pronominal in its lexical composition and the fact that /yoom/ itself is a nominal of an invariable form. That is, /yoom/ as a temporal nominal differs from /yoom/ as a noun of time designation in that the former has an invariable form that introduces temporal clauses but the latter is a noun and so has the inflectional paradigm of the noun ie it inflects for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession, number and duality.¹ Therefore, the temporal clauses introduced by /gublima/, /ʒugbima/ and /yoom (?inn) + pronominal suffix/ etc have nominals as their introducers, and not particles.

Despite the above differences between a temporal clause introduced by a temporal particle and that introduced by a temporal nominal, yet both share the fact that they demonstrate that a temporal may be verbal in structure and that it is not only clausal in status but may also be clausal in structure. It is in this respect that the above very brief discussion of the temporal

¹/ilyoom/ "the day". /yoomin/ "a day", /yoomi/ "my day", /ʔayyam/ "days", /yoomeen/ "2 days".

clause has been given to show that the temporal may be verbal and clausal in structure. But as the main emphasis of this thesis is on the nominal piece, no more will be said on the temporal clause because it is verbal in structure.

As for its clausal structure, this has reinforced the clausal status of the temporals that are in reality phrasal in structure, such as the temporal PP, the temporal nominal construct and the temporal nominal. That is, as they too are on par with the matrix clause they introduce determining its time reference, therefore, they are regarded as clausal in status even though they are phrasal in structure.

It is in this respect that a temporal differs from a topic, which is also generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. sentential configuration. That is, the topic is phrasal in structure and in status whereas the temporal is clausal in status even when it is phrasal in structure. This is because the topic holds a relation with a constituent in S node ie the NP it binds but the temporal holds a relation with all of the S node it introduces because it determines the time reference of all of S node.

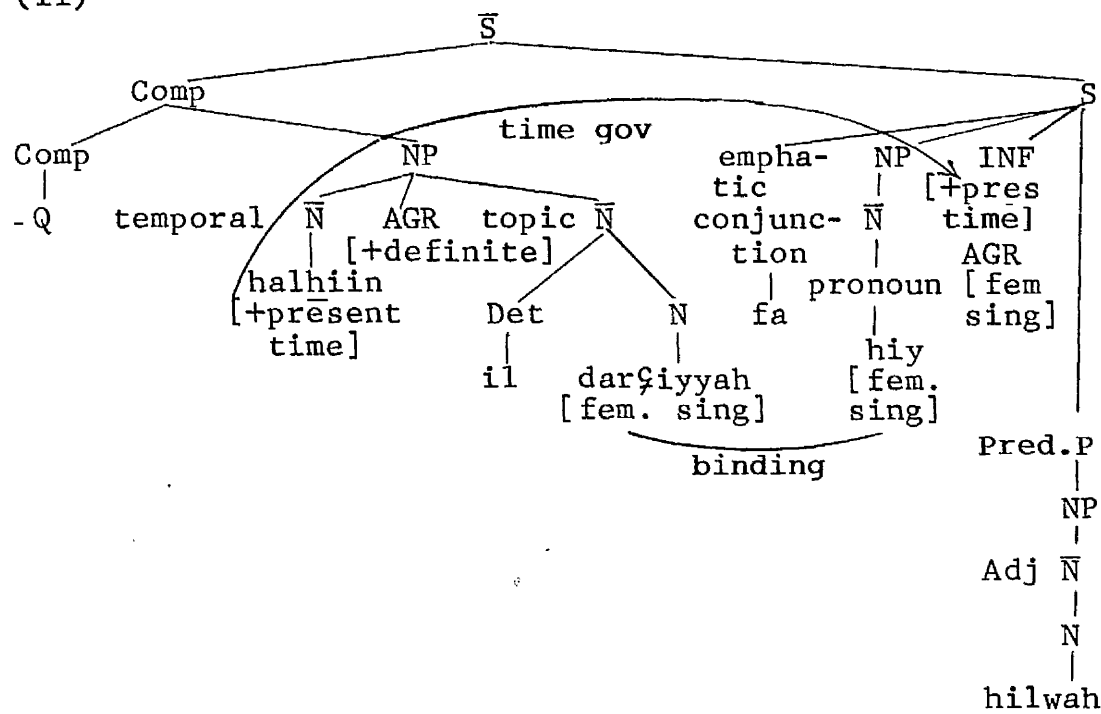
Accordingly, when there is both a temporal and a topic generated in the D.A.D. sentence, it is the temporal that introduces both the topic and its S node. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(5)

(i) /halhiin iddarÇiyyah --> fahiyy hilwah/

Now DarÇiyyah, it (fem. sing) really is pretty.

(ii)



As shown in S-structure 5(ii), the temporal (ie /halhiin/) introduces both the topic and its S node because it determines their time reference, that is, the

temporal is on par with not only the matrix clause but also its topic. On the other hand, the topic holds a relation only with the NP it binds, and not with the matrix clause as a whole. This difference in the syntactic behaviour of the temporal and the topic is due to their difference in status ie the temporal is clausal in status whereas the topic is phrasal in status even though both of them *may* be phrasal in structure, as demonstrated by S-structure (5)(ii).

S-structure (5)(ii) also demonstrates that the temporal is a temporal nominal, and not a temporal PP or a temporal nominal construct. That is, despite the fact that the above temporals are nominals in structure, yet they nevertheless differ in their internal structures. It is in this respect that the nominal temporals are further subdivided into three groups: temporal PPs, temporal nominal constructs and temporal nominals.

The temporal PP differs from the temporal nominal and the temporal nominal construct in that it is composed of a noun of time designation introduced by a preposition that has not lost its property as a governor and so it requires the noun it introduces to inflect for definiteness (ie to be preceded by the definite article

as a marker of definiteness). The temporal nominal, on the other hand, may be composed of a nominal that is not introduced by a preposition, as shown by /halhiin/ in S-structure (5)(ii), and it may also have a preposition but one that has lost its property as a governor; and therefore, has been fossilized to become part of its lexical composition.

That the preposition carried by a temporal nominal has lost its property as a governor is demonstrated by its incapacity to make the nominal it introduces inflect for definiteness. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which some of their temporals are composed of temporal PPs and some others are composed of temporal nominals with a fossilized preposition:

(6)

(i) //filleel/ --> iddarçiyah hilwah/

In the night, Darçiyah is pretty.

(ii) //filleel/ --> ninaam/

In the night, we sleep or are sleeping.

(iii) //binnihaar/ --> ništaʕal/

In the daylight, we work or are working.

(7)

(i) //min ʔawwal/ --> iddarçiyah hilwah/

From first, Darḥiyyah is nice ie

Darḥiyyah used to be nice.

- (ii) //min baaḥir/ --> iddarḥiyyah hilwah/

From tomorrow, Darḥiyyah is nice ie

Darḥiyyah will be nice.

- (iii) //min ʔawwal/ --> yakluun/

From first, they eat ie They used to eat a lot.

- (iv) //min baaḥir/ --> yimṣuun/

From tomorrow, they are leaving.

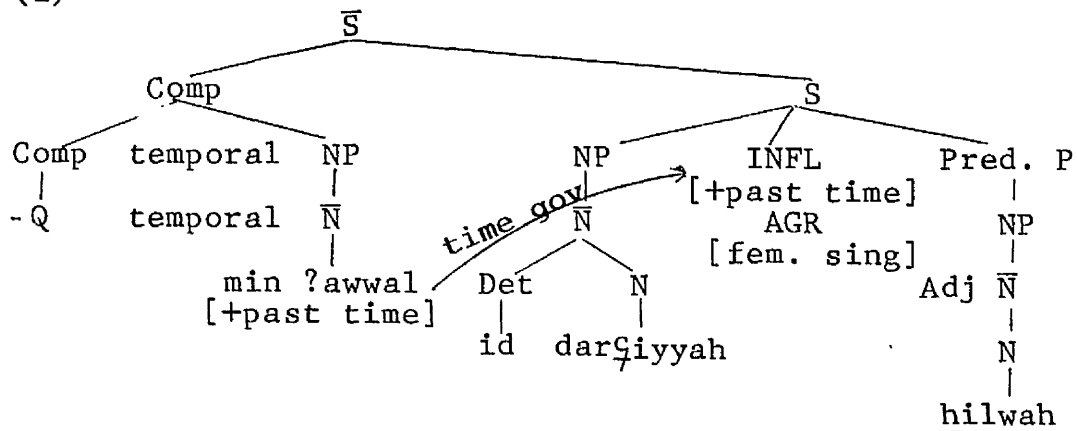
In sentences (b), we have temporal PPs. This is demonstrated by the fact that the nouns /leel/ and /nihaar/ inflect for definiteness prior to their introduction by a preposition, which in turn forms a temporal PP since it has not lost its governing property. And both /leel/ and /nihaar/ are said to inflect for definiteness because they have uninflected forms as well as inflected forms ie /leel/ ~ /illeel/ and /nihaar/ ~ /innihaar/. The former forms are the uninflected form whereas the latter forms are the inflected forms. It is in this respect that both /leel/ and /nihaar/ are nouns of time designation, and not temporal nominals.

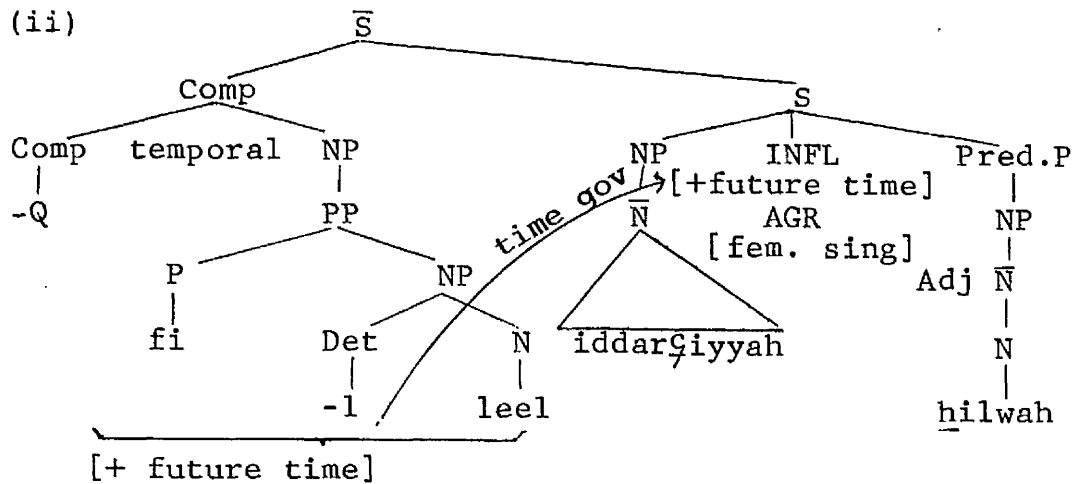
As for sentences (ʔ), these demonstrate temporals that have temporal nominals that have a preposition as

part of their lexical composition. That the preposition /min/ in these sentences is fossilized is indicated by its incapacity to require the nominal it introduces to inflect to definiteness. That is, as neither /ʔawwal/ nor /baaʕir/ is introduced by a definite article; therefore, /min/ in /min ʔawwal/ and /min baaʕir/ is regarded as part of their lexical composition, forming a temporal nominal, and not a temporal PP. This difference in the internal structure of /filleel/ as distinct from /min ʔawwal/ is demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (b)(i) and (7)(i):

(8)

(i)





S-structure (8)(ii) demonstrates that the temporal /filleel/ is decomposable into the preposition /fi/, the definite article and the noun /leel/. It also shows that despite the fact that it is a PP, it is dominated by an NP for the sake of θ marking since the PP as a whole must be θ marked "temporal" in relation to the matrix clause it introduces. And as we have seen, the theory used in this thesis allows only Case marked elements to be visible at LF; and since only NPs are Case marked, the temporal PP has to be dominated by an NP.

S-structure (8)(i), on the other hand, demonstrates that /min ?awwal/ is not a PP and so it is not decomposable into a preposition and a nominal. Its incapacity to be decomposed is because it is a temporal nominal, which exemplifies a fossilization of structure and the fossilization in this example is the preposition /min/ since it is part of its lexical composition. Therefore,

a temporal nominal is indeed different from a temporal PP even when that temporal nominal has a preposition and it is in this respect that the temporal PP should be distinguished from a temporal nominal even though they are both temporals that are of a nominal structure.

Another syntactic behaviour of the temporal nominal that distinguishes it from the other temporals that are nominal in structure is its capacity to be generated as the temporal even without being introduced by a preposition. This has been demonstrate by S-Structure (5)(i), which has the temporal nominal /halhiin/. It is also illustrated by the following sentences and their S-structures, which demonstrate that a noun of time designation has to be preceded by a preposition if it is to function as a temporal and not as a topic, while the temporal may be generated as a temporal and not a topic even when it is not preceded by a preposition so long as it does not bind an NP in the S node it introduces.

(.9)

(i) /issubih/ --> iddarÇiyyah hilwah/

The morning, DarÇiyyah is nice ie In the morning,
DarÇiyyah is nice.

(ii) /filleel/ --> iddarÇiyyah hilwah/

In the night, Darḥiyyah is nice.

(iii) *//illeel/ --> iddarḥiyyah hilwah/

(11)

(i) //illeel/ --> fahuw barad fiddarḥiyyah/

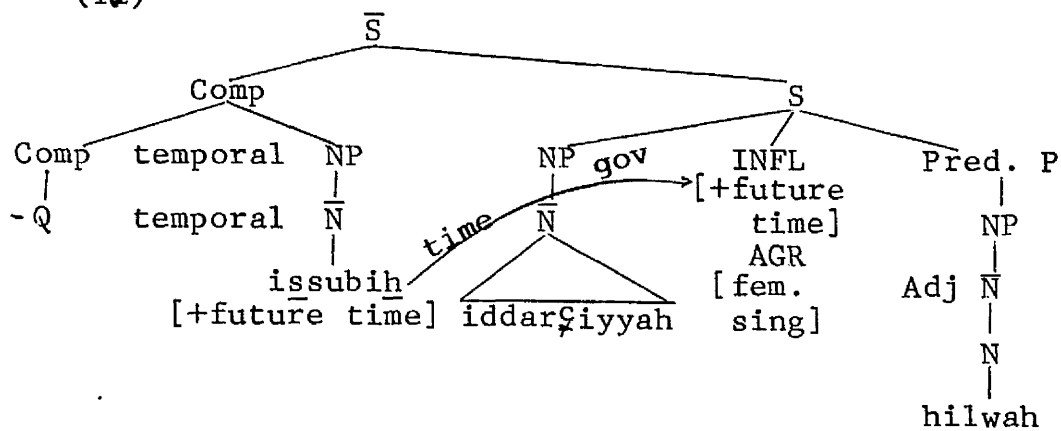
The night, it really is cold in Darḥiyyah.

(ii) //issubih/ --> fahuw barad fiddarḥiyyah/

The morning, it really is cold in Darḥiyyah.

In sentences (9)(i) and (9)(ii), both /issubih/ and /illeel/ function as the temporal in relation to the matrix clause they introduce ie they determine the time reference of the S node they introduce. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (9)(i) to be compared with that of (8)(ii):

(10)



As can be seen from S-structure (10), /issubih/ is generated as the temporal even though it is not introduced

by a preposition. On the other hand, /illeel/ in S-structure (8)(ii) is introduced by a preposition. This is because /illeel/ is a noun of time designation whereas /issubih/ is a temporal nominal. That is, for a noun of time designation to function as a temporal, it must be introduced by a preposition and this is why sentence (9(iii)) is ill-formed since /illeel/ is a noun of time designation functioning as a temporal and not introduced by a preposition. Sentence (10)(i), on the other hand, is well-formed because /illeel/ is a topic NP and so it is not introduced by a preposition. That it is a topic NP, and not a temporal, is indicated by the NP it binds in the S node it introduces.

The temporal nominal, as shown by sentences (9)(1) and (10)(ii) does not subsume to this constraints, rather it functions as a temporal whenever it holds a relation with all of S node and functions as a topic whenever it binds an NP in S node. In either case, if the temporal nominal does not have a preposition as part of its lexical composition, it remains without a preposition.

The syntactic differences between a noun of time designation and a temporal nominal may not only be demon-

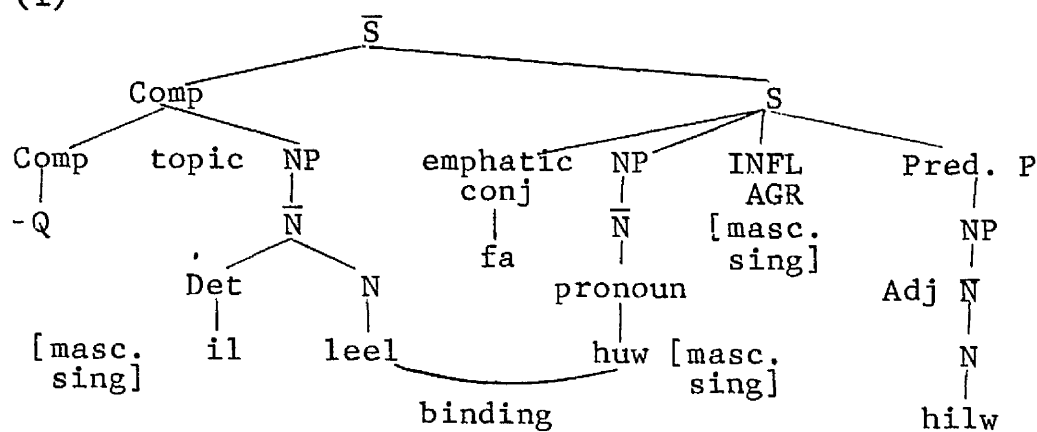
strated by the requirement of the former to be introduced by a preposition whenever it functions as a temporal but may also be demonstrated by their internal structures. Going back to S-structure (8) (ii), we find that the noun of time designation is decomposable into a definite article and the noun itself. But if we look at S-structure (11), we find that the temporal nominal involves no such decomposition. This is because the definite article carried by a temporal nominal is also part of its lexical composition ie /issubih/ has an invariable form in which the definite article is part of its lexical composition. It is in this respect that the temporal nominal cannot be said to inflect for definiteness since D.A.D. does not have */subih/ as the unflected form of /issubih/. It is, consequently, due to such syntactic differences between a noun of time designation and nominals, such as /issubih/, /min ?awwal/ etc. that has made it necessary to classify the latter under a distinct subclass in the General Class for Nominals in D.A.D. syntax. This subclass has been called the "Temporal Nominal Subclass".

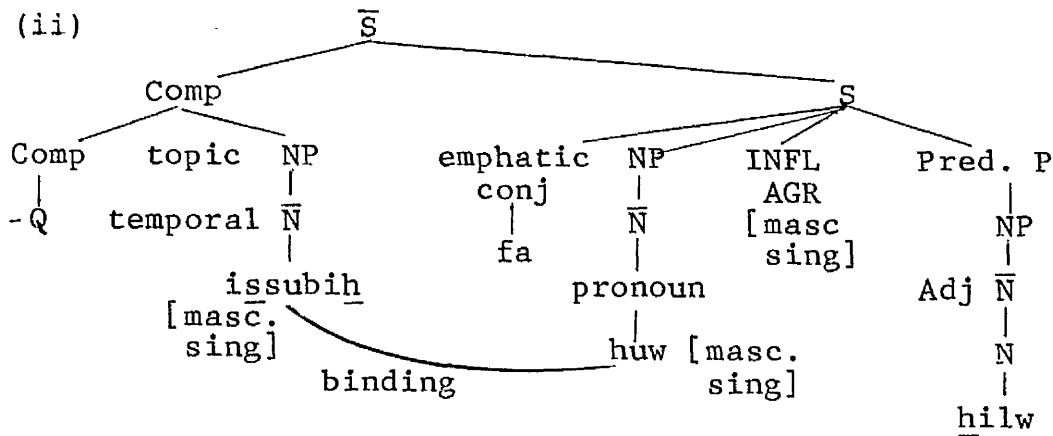
The members of this subclass generate temporal NPs when they are generated in the Comp. A-position and do

not bind an NP in the S node they introduce. And when they do bind an NP in the S node they introduce they function as topics, as illustrated by /issubih/ in sentence (10)(ii). They behave in this respect like a noun since nouns may be generated as the topic, an example of which is sentence (10)(i). But again the temporal nominal differs from the noun in that it is not decomposable into a definite article and the nominal even when it is generated as the topic NP. This^{is} demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (10)(i) and (ii):

(11)

(i)





That is, despite the fact that both the temporal nominal and the noun of time designation are generated as topic NPs in S-structures (11)(i) and (ii), yet they nevertheless differ in their internal structure ie the noun of time designation is decomposable whereas the temporal nominal is not.

The temporal nominal also differs from the temporal nominal construct, which is also another nominal temporal. It differs in that it does not have the internal structure of a nominal construct but it is similar to the temporal nominal construct in that neither one of them requires the prior introduction of a preposition when they function as a temporal. It is in this respect that they both differ from the noun of time designation. The following sentence and its S-structure demonstrate the internal structure of a temporal nominal construct

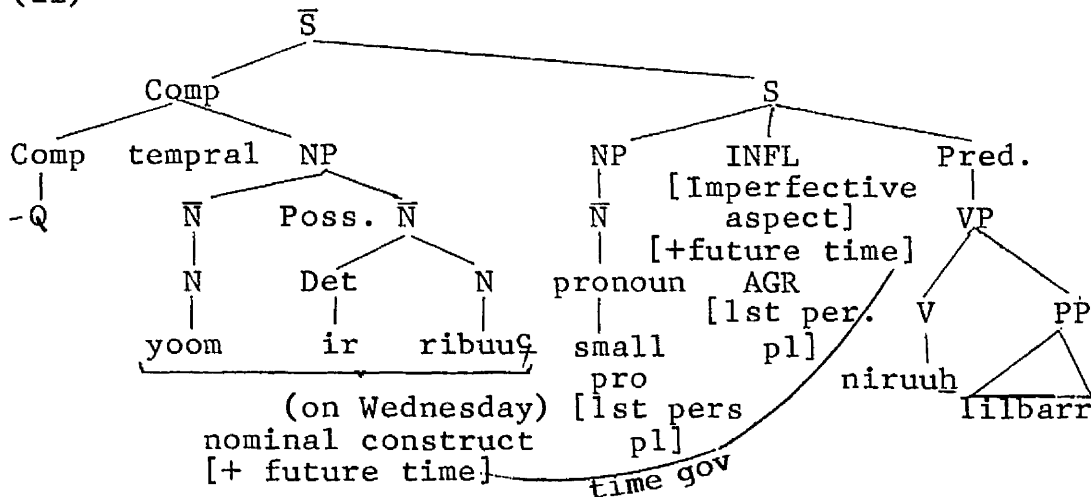
and that it functions as a temporal without the introduction of a preposition.

(12)

(i) //yoom irribuuḡ/--> niruuh lilbarr/

The day of the fourth ie Wednesday, we are going to the desert.

(ii)



As can be seen from S-structure (12)(ii), the temporal nominal construct is a nominal construct that is generated in the $Comp$. A-position for the sake of the time determination of the matrix clause it introduces and it does not require the introduction of a preposition for its generation as a temporal.

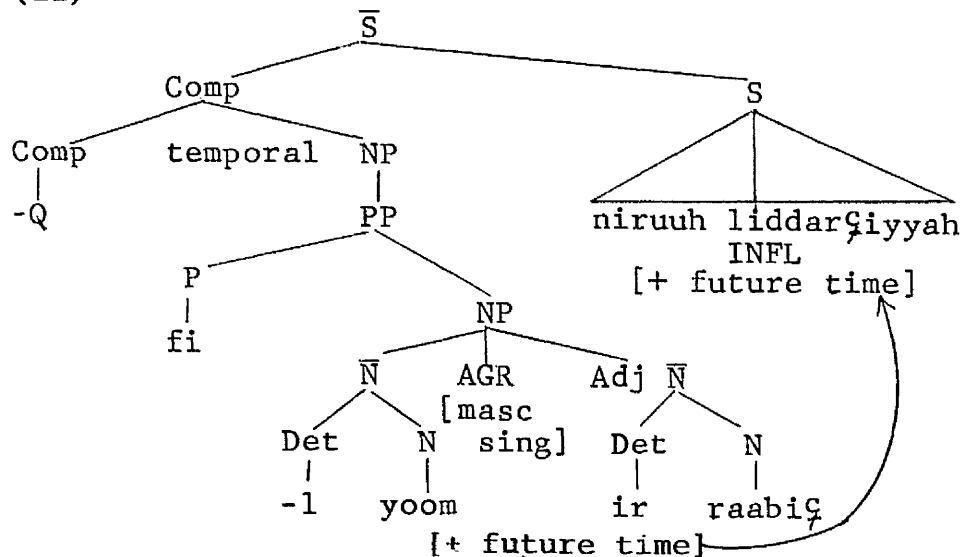
However, the only temporals with the internal structure of a nominal construct that the researcher has come across in her corpus are those referring to the

days of the week. It does accordingly seem to be the case that any other time reference is conveyed by means of a temporal PP, apart from the time reference conveyed by the temporal nominals or temporal clauses. For example, if the time reference is the fourth day, and not Wednesday, the internal structure of the temporal is a PP, and not a nominal construct. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(13)

- (i) //filyoom irraabiḩ/ --> niruuh liddarḩiyyah/
 PP
 On the fourth day, we go to Darḩiyyah

(ii)



As S-structure (13)(ii) indicates, the temporal is a PP and not a nominal construct. This is because the time reference is not the days of the week, rather it refers

to the fourth day. It is in this respect that we have the noun of time designation /ilyoom/ introduced by a preposition and qualified by an adjectival ie /irraabiṣ/. That is, it is only the time expressions that refer to the days of the week that constitute a temporal with the internal structure of a nominal construct, otherwise the temporal has the internal structure of a PP if it is not a temporal nominal or a temporal clause.

S-structure (13)(ii) also points out another characteristic of the noun of time designation that is not found in the temporal nominal. This is the capacity of the noun of time designation to be qualified by an adjective, which is in this case the ordinal numeral /irraabiṣ/. That is, the temporal nominal, as will be shown, may have the internal structure of a specifier, definite article and bound morpheme but cannot have the internal structure of definite article, nominal and adjectival.

It is due to the above mentioned differences between a temporal nominal on the one hand and the other temporals whether those of nominal structure or those of verbal structure that the temporal nominal has been classified by itself as a word class that shares some of

the characteristics of the noun and yet differs in many other respects. The uniqueness of the syntactic behaviour of the members of this word class has not only entitled their description but more importantly has led to the fact that the time expressions in D.A.D. are nominals that are nevertheless distinct from nouns. This naturally verifies the fact that the temporal in D.A.D. has the category NP and that D.A.D. does not have the category Adv. P. for the generation of its time expressions.

The following discussion deals with some of the members of the temporal nominal subclass and these are associated with the present, past, future and continuous time perspectives. This chapter has been divided into two sections. Section I deals with the temporal nominals with invariable forms and it is shown that these forms have nominal characteristics. Section II deals with temporal nominals that have variable forms, two members of which inflect for possession. Both types of temporal nominals whether variable or invariable in form constitute a subclass in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. because they not only differ from nouns but also from adjectives and participles, and exemplify a fossil-

ization of structure, such as having a definite article that has become part of their lexical composition and their incapacity to inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness or number.

2.4.1: Temporal Nominals with Invariable Forms

There are various types of temporal nominals with invariable forms in D.A.D. syntax. There are invariable forms that have the preposition /min/; invariable forms that have a definite article; and invariable forms that have neither a preposition or a definite article. Regardless of the fact that only some of these temporal nominals with invariable forms have a definite article while the others do not, all the temporal nominals of this group are associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. As a matter of fact, it will be shown that a temporal nominal whether of this group or of the group with variable forms is always associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. The association of the temporal nominals with the syntactic feature [+definite] is demonstrated by their syntactic behaviour and this is indicated in the discussion of each temporal nominal separately.

2.4.1.1: Temporal Nominals with the preposition /min/

As indicated in the introduction, the preposition /min/ introducing temporal nominals is part of their lexical composition and it is in this respect that such a preposition is regarded as a fossilized preposition. The temporal nominals with the /min/ preposition are associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous], which is defined as describing "a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period." (B. Comrie, 1981:28).¹

A situation characterized as being associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] may be set in the domain of the past time, as exemplified by /min ?awwal/; in the domain of the future, as exemplified by /min baaçir/; and may also be set in a past time dimension that extends up to the present time and this is exempli-

¹The term [+continuous] has been used instead of the "aspect of duration", as used by Comrie. This is because D.A.D. only has a Perfective and an Imperfective aspect, both of which are conveyed by the verb forms in D.A.D. ie the perfective verb conveys the perfective aspect and the Imperfective verb conveys the Imperfective aspect.

fied by /min hiina/. It may also be associated with a time reference that starts in the morning and goes on to the present time, as exemplified by /min issubih/. Therefore, the temporal nominals that are to be discussed in this section are as follows:

(1)

- (i) /min hiina/ "from time immemorial onwards"
- (ii) /min ?ams/ "from yesterday onwards"
- (iii) /min ?awwal/ "from first onwards"
- (iv) /min baacıir/ "from tomorrow onwards"

(2)

- (i) /min issubih/ "from the morning onwards"
- (ii) /min işşuhur/ "from the noon onwards"
- (iii) /min ilçasır/ "from the afternoon onwards"
- (iv) /min immaʕarib/ "from sunset onwards"
- (v) /min ilçişa/ "from dusk onwards"

The /min/ introduced temporal nominals in (2) also have a fossilized definite article. It is in this respect that they are associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. And on the analogy of the temporal nominals of (2), those of (1) are also regarded as having the syntactic feature [+definite] even though they do

not have a definite article. That is, it will be shown that all temporal nominals are associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] even when it is not overtly manifested in their structural composition in the form of a definite article or inflection for possession and that the semantic correlation of this syntactic feature of definiteness found in all temporal nominals is that it defines the time reference of the sentence. This is because instead of leaving the time reference of the sentence implicit it explicitly states it, thereby making its time reference definite so as not to depend on the previous discourse or the speech reference of the sentence under question.

In the following section, each of the above /min/ introduced temporal nominals is dealt with separately so as to give as detailed a description of its syntactic behaviour as possible.

2.4.1.1.1: /min hiina/ "From time immemorial onwards"

The temporal nominal /min hiina/ is composed of the fossilized preposition /min/; the bound morpheme */hiin/ and the Case marker /-a/. This bound morpheme ie */hiin/ is also found in other temporal nominals, such as /halhiin/, /~~h~~alhiin/, /~~h~~iikilhiin/ but it does not exist as a lexical item by itself in D.A.D. syntax.

As for the fact that /min hiina/ has a Case marker, it not only indicates its nominal status but also that Case is the property of the syntax. That is, as the temporal nominal /min hiina/ is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position, it has an overt Case marker which is taken to be the Case of the nominals generated in this A-position. And the overt-ness of the Case marker in the temporal nominal /min hiina/ also demonstrates that the subclass of nominals to which it belongs (ie the temporal nominal subclass) represents a relic area in D.A.D. syntax. This is because one of its members which is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position has preserved an overt Case marker, which has also become fossilized to become part of its lexical composition.

In the following discussion, /min hiina/ is shown to be generated in the Comp. A-position of the D.A.D. nominal sentence and then afterwards in that of the verbal sentence. In either case, /min hiina/ exercises time government on the S node it introduces.

2.4.1.1.1.1: /min hiina/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The fact that /min hiina/ may be generated in the Comp. A-position of a nominal sentence is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1)

- (i) /min hiina/ --> winhin fiiha/

From time immemorial until the present time, and we are in it (fem. sing)

- (ii) /min hiina/ --> wahiy filbeet/

From time immemorial until the present time, and she is in the house ie she does not go out.

(2)

- (i) /min hiina/ --> widdarçiyyah hilwah/

From time immemorial until the present time, and Darçiyyah is pretty.

- (ii) /min hiina/ --> wilxeer çiθiir/

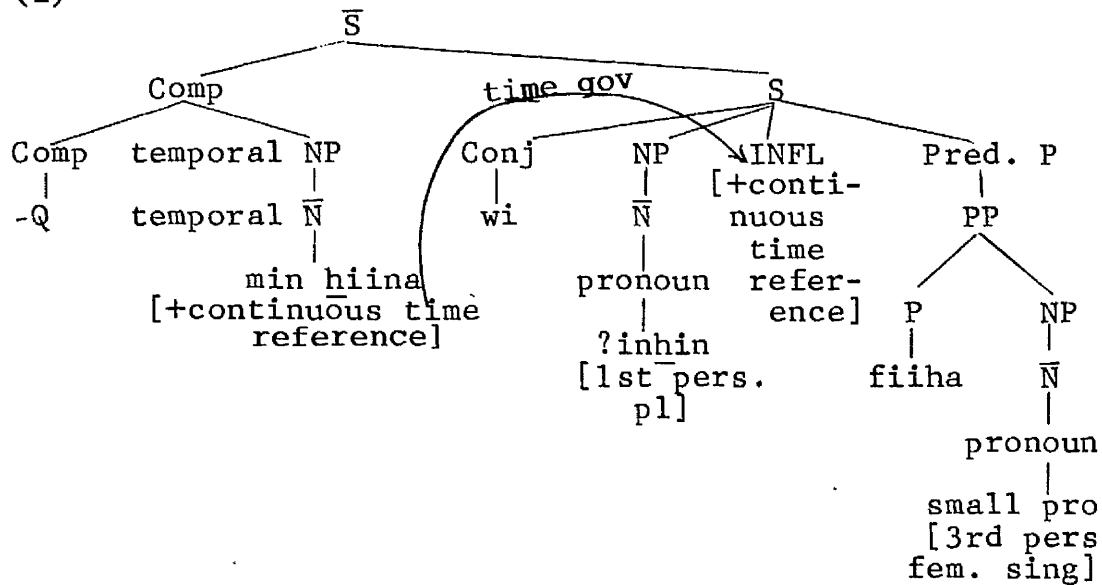
From time immemorial until the present time, and

goods are plentiful.

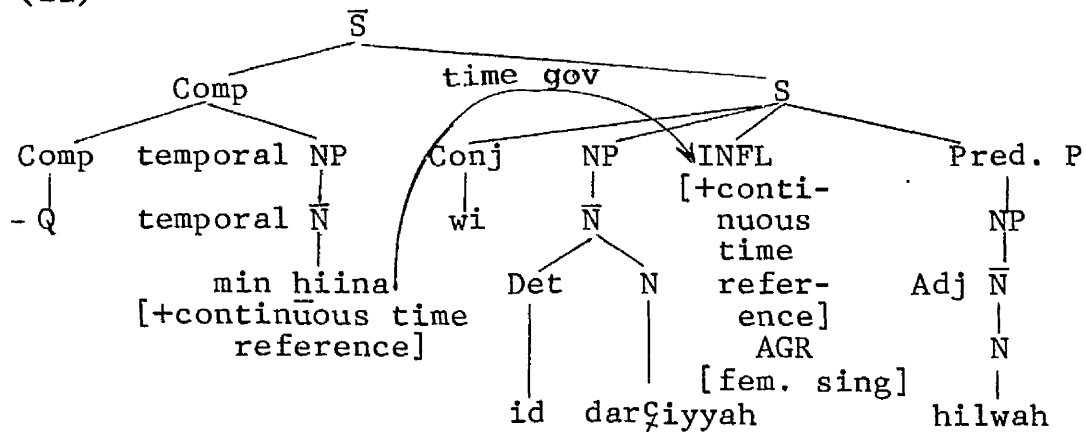
Taking sentences (1)(i) and (2)(i), we have the following S-structures, in which it is shown that /min hiina/ is generated in the Comp. A-position of a nominal sentence:

(3)

(i)



(ii)



The above S nodes have been set in a time perspective that starts in the distant past and continues to the present because they are introduced by the temporal nominal /min hiina/, as demonstrated by S-structures (3) (i) and (ii).

The S nodes introduced by the temporal nominal /min hiina/ must also be preceded by the conjunction /wi/, which in turn does not allow the temporal NP to subsume to the rule of (TL). This rule (ie (TL)) moves the temporal NP from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node. That the temporal nominal /min hiina/, generated as a temporal NP, does not subsume to the rule of (TL) is indicated by the following ill-formed sentences.

(4)

(i) */winhin fiiha /min hiina/

(ii) */widdarçiyyah hilwah /min hiina/

These sentences are ill-formed because /min hiina/ has been moved from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node.

2.4.1.1.1.2: /min hiina/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

When /min hiina/ introduces a verbal S node, it requires the verb of that S node to be imperfective, and not perfective. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /min hiina/ --> winhin niruuh lissuug/

From time immemorial until the present time and we do go out to the market.

(ii) /min hiina/ --> winhin niruuh nihattib wayyahum/

From time immemorial until the present time and we go out to plough with them.

(iii) */min hiina/ --> winhin ruhna lissuug/

Sentences (1)(i) and (ii) are well-formed because the verbal clauses /min hiina/ introduces have imperfective verbs ie /niruuh/ in (i) and /niruuh nihattib/ in (ii). As for sentence (iii), it is ill-formed because the verb is perfective, and not imperfective. This points to the fact that the temporal NP that has /min hiina/ as its temporal nominal not only governs the time reference of the S node it introduces but also the verb form that is

generated in that S node, requiring it to be imperfective and not perfective.

/min hiina/ introducing a verbal S node has a similar syntactic behaviour to that introducing a nominal S node in the sense that it requires that S node to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/ and does not subsume to the optional rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences, which are ill-formed because /min hiina/ has been moved by the rule of (TL):

(2) (i) */winhin niruuh lissuug /min hiina/

(ii) */winhin niruuh nihattib wayyahum /min hiina/

2.4.1.1.2:/min ?ams/ "From yesterday onwards"

As with /min hiina/, /min ?ams/ has a fossilized preposition that is part of its lexical composition, requires the S node it introduces to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; requires the verb of that S node to be imperfective; does not subsume to the rule of (TL); is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]; and is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp A-position. On the other hand, it differs from /min hiina/ in that it does not have a Case marker and in the range of its continuity, ie, it starts yesterday and goes on to the present day.

2.4.1.1.2.1: /min ?ams/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The temporal nominal /min ?ams/ may be generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. nominal sentence and this is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /min ?ams/ --> wihuw zaçlaan/

From yesterday until now, and he is sad.

(ii) /min ?ams/ --> wihum šaayšiin/

From yesterday until now, and they are joyful.

(iii) /min ?ams/ --> wihiy filbeet/

From yesterday until now, and she is at home ie
 in the house.

The temporal nominal /min ?ams/, generated as the temporal NP, sets the nominal S node it introduces in a time perspective that starts in the past ie yesterday and goes on to the present time.

2.4.1.1.2.2: /min ?ams/ generated in the Comp of the
D.A.D. Verbal sentence

The syntactic behaviour of /min ?ams/ generated as the temporal NP in a verbal sentence is the same as that in a nominal sentence except that in the verbal sentence it requires the S node it introduces to have an imper-

fective verb, and not a perfective verb. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /min ?ams/--> wihuw yištaʒal/

From yesterday until now, and he is working.

(ii) /min ?ams/--> wihum yikinisuun/

From yesterday until now, and they are sweeping.

(iii) /min ?ams/--> winhin nihattib/

From yesterday until now, and we are ploughing.

As shown by sentences (1), the temporal nominal /min ?ams/, generated as the temporal NP also sets the verbal S node it introduces in a time perspective that starts in the past (ie yesterday) and goes on to the present time.

2.4.1.1.3: /min ?awwal/ "from first onwards"

As with /min hiina/ and /min ?ams/, /min ?awwal/ has a fossilized preposition ie /min/; is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]; and requires the verbal S node it introduces to have an imperfective verb, and not a perfective verb. However, /min ?awwal/ differs from the former two temporal nominals in that it does not require the S node it introduces to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; is not restricted in its syn-

tactic distribution to the Comp. A-position; and does subsume to the rule of (TL). It is in this respect that the temporal nominals /min hiina/ and /min ?ams/ form one group and /min ?awwal/ and /min baaçir/ form another group.

The following sentences demonstrate that /min ?awwal/ may be generated as the complement of a preposition; the fact which verifies that /min/ in /min ?awwal/ is a fossilized part of its lexical composition ie /min/ has lost its property as a preposition.

- (1) (i) /mahuub çïθiir miθil min ?awwal/

PP

It (masc. sing) is not much as with in the past time and its tradition.

- (ii) /mahuub bassal waajid miθil min ?awwal/

PP

It is not as much onions as in the past.

Sentences (1) not only demonstrate that /min ?awwal/ may be generated as the complement of a preposition but also its nominal status since both /min/ and /?awwal/ together form a nominal as verified by its capacity to be governed by a preposition ie /miθil/. Sentences (1) also demonstrate that when /min ?awwal/ is generated in the A-positions in S node, it is entity denoting ie it does not exercise time government on S node.

2.4.1.1.3.1: /min ?awwal/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /min ?awwal/ generated as the temporal NP of a nominal sentence is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]; does not require its S node to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; and does subsume to the rule of (TL):

(1)

(i) /min ?awwal/ --> innaas ishaah/

From first, people are healthy ie People used to be healthy.

(ii) /min ?awwal/ --> iddar $\dot{\text{c}}$ iy yah hilwah/

From first, Dar $\dot{\text{c}}$ iy yah is pretty ie Dar $\dot{\text{c}}$ iy yah used to be pretty.

(iii) /iddar $\dot{\text{c}}$ iy yah hilwah/ min ?awwal/

Dar $\dot{\text{c}}$ iy yah used to be pretty.

As can be seen from sentences (1), /min ?awwal/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] but with one that is set in the domain of the past. It differs in this respect from the temporal nominals /min hiina/ and /min ?ams/ since they are associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] that starts in the past and goes on to the present.

2.4.1.1.3.2: /min ?awwal/ generated in the Comp of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /min ?awwal/ generated as the temporal NP in a verbal sentence is also associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] and that it subsumes to the rule of (TL):

(1)

- (i) /min ?awwal/ --> nihutt mišaāt/

From first, we are putting mishat

We used to put mishat in our hair.

- (ii) /min ?awwal/ --> nijiibha min ilmahassad/

From first, we are bringing her from the harvest field.

We used to bring her from the field.

- (iii) /min ?awwal/ --> niṣanniiha/

From first, we are singing it (fem. sing).

We used to sing it.

- (iv) /min ?awwal/ --> yakluun lahim innajdiyyaat/

From first, we are eating meat of goats.

We used to eat goat meat.

- (v) /nihutt mišaāt/ /min ?awwal/

We used to put mishat.

As in nominal sentences, the syntactic feature [+continuous] associated with /min ?awwal/ is set in a past time domain; ie an S node introduced by /min ?awwal/ conveys an action or a state that was characteristic of a certain time in the past. This again differentiates it from /min ?ams/ and /min hiina/ even though it is similar to them in that it requires the verbal S node it introduces to have an imperfective, and not a perfective verb.

2.4.1.1.4: /min baaçir/ "from tomorrow onwards"

As with /min ?awwal/, /min baaçir/ is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position; does not require the S node it introduces to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; and does subsume to the rule of (TL). It also shares with /min hiina/ and /min ?ams/ its association with the syntactic feature [+continuous]; its having a fossilized /min/ preposition; and the fact that it requires the verbal S node it introduces to have an imperfective verb, and not a perfective verb.

The following sentences demonstrate that /min baaçir/ may be generated as the complement of a preposi-

tion; the fact which again verifies its nominal status and the fossilization of its preposition ie /min/.

(1)

(i) /mahuub ɟiθiir/ miθil min baaɟir/
PP

It is not much as with in the future.

It is not as much as will be in the future.

(ii) /halhiin --> mahiyb raɟiyyah/ miθil min baaɟir/
PP

Now, she is not bad as with in the future.

Now, she is not as bad as she will be.

As with /min ?awwal/, when /min baaɟir/ is generated in an A-position in S node, it is entity denoting ie it does not exercise Time government.

2.4.1.1.4.1: /min baaɟir/ generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /min baaɟir/ may be generated as the temporal NP in a nominal sentence and that it does subsume to the rule of (TL):

(1)

(i) //min baaɟir/ --> ilkeer maašin fiddarɟiyyah/

From tomorrow onwards, bounty exists in Darɟiyyah.

(ii) //min baaɟir/ --> ɟindina xeerin ɟiθiir/

From tomorrow onwards, we have a lot of goods.

(2)

- (i) /ilxeer maašin fiddarçiiyyah /min baaçir//
- (ii) /çindina xeerin çiiir /min baaçir//

As can be seen from sentences (1), the [+continuous] syntactic feature associated with /min baaçir/ is set in a future time perspective. That is, the above states will start in the future and carry on afterwards.

2.4.1.1.4.2: /min baaçir/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /min baaçir/ may also be generated as a temporal NP in verbal sentences and subsumes to the rule of (TL):

(1)

- (i) /min baaçir/ --> yikθar ilxeer/

From tomorrow, bounty is increasing ie Bounty will be increasing in the future.

- (ii) /min baaçir/ --> ništaʔal çiiir/

From tomorrow, we are working much. We will be working hard starting from tomorrow.

(2)

- (i) /yikθar ilxeer /min baaçir//
- (ii) /ništaʔal çiiir /min baaçir//

Sentences (1) and (2) also demonstrate that /min baaçir/ does control the verb in the verbal S node it introduces ie it requires it to be imperfective, and not perfective. As for sentences (2), they demonstrate that /min baaçir/ subsumes to the rule of (TL). Therefore, both /min baaçir/ and /min ?awwal/ form one subgroup in the group of temporal nominals that have the preposition /min/ and that are not introduced by a definite article. They form a distinct subgroup from /min hiina/ and /min ?ams/ in that they do subsume to the rule of (TL); do not require the S node they introduce to be preceded by the conjunction/wi/; and may be generated in an A-position in S node as well as in the Comp. A-position.

2.4.1.1.5: /min issubih/ group of Temporal Nominals

The temporal nominals of this group not only have a fossilized preposition ie /min/ but also a fossilized definite article e.g. /is/ in /min issubih/. The fossilization of the definite article in /min issubih/, /min i^huhur/, /min ilçasir/, /min imma^haarib/, and /min il çışa/ is indicated by the fact that D.A.D. syntax does not have */subih/, */^huhur/, */çasir/, */ma^haarib/ and /çışa/ as lexical items. It only has the forms /issubih/ /i^huhur, /ilçasir/, /imma^haarib/ and /ilçışa/

as lexical items whose definite article is part of their lexical composition.¹ Accordingly, the preposition /min/ in /min issubih/ etc cannot be said to govern /issubih/ etc requiring it to inflect for definiteness since the definite article in these nominals is part of their lexical composition. Therefore, both the preposition and the definite article in /min issubih/ etc are parts of the lexical composition of these nominals.

The /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals are similar to the /min hiina/ group of temporal nominals not only in their association with the syntactic feature [+continuous] and their having the fossilized preposition /min/ but also in their requiring the S node they introduce to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; in their being restricted in their syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position; their not subsuming to the rule of (TL) and their requiring the verbal S node they introduce to have an imperfective verb, rather than a perfective verb. This is demonstrated by the following discussion in which the /min issubih/ group of temporal

¹For a discussion of the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals see pp.541-60.

nominals are discussed together since they have the same syntactic behaviour.

2.4.1.1.5.1: /min issubih/ group of Temporal Nominals
generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. Nominal
Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals may be generated as the temporal NP of the DAD nominal sentences:

(1)

- (i) /min issubih/ --> wihuw naayim/

From the morning until now, and he is asleep.

- (ii) /min issubih/ --> wihum gaaçdiin/

From the morning until now, and they are sitting.

- (iii) /min issubih/ --> winhin zaçlaniin/

From the morning until now, and we are sad.

(2)

- (i) /min iððuhur/ --> wi hum naaymiin/

From the noon time until now, and they are asleep
ing.

- (ii) /min iððuhur/ --> winhin gaaçdiin/

From the noon time until now, and we are sitting.

- (iii) /min iððuhur/ --> wihuw zaçlaan/

From the noon time until now, and he is sad.

(3)

- (i) /min il^ʕasir/ --> wi huw gaa^ʕid/

From the afternoon until now, and he is sitting.

- (ii) /min il^ʕasir/ --> win^hin za^ʕlaniin/

From the afternoon until now, and we are sad.

(4)

- (i) /min imma^ʕarib/ --> wi huw naayim/

From the sunset time until now, and he is asleep
ing.

- (ii) /min imma^ʕarib/ --> wi huw za^ʕlaan/

From the sunset time until now, and he is sad.

(5)

- (i) /min il^ʕi^ʕa/ --> wi huw gaa^ʕid/

From the dusk time onwards, and he is sitting.

- (ii) /min il^ʕi^ʕa --> wi huw naayim/

From the dusk time onwards, and he is sleeping.

In sentences (1), /min iss^ubi^h/ is generated as the temporal NP in these nominal sentences. It sets these sentences in a time perspective that starts in the morning and continues onwards. The same applies to /min i^ʕ^ʕuhur/ in sentences (2) except that the time perspective starts at noon time and continues onwards. In sentences (3), the time perspective starts in the afternoon

and continues onwards. In sentences (4), the time perspective is from sunset time and continues onwards; and in (5) it is from dusk time onwards. Therefore, the above sentences demonstrate that these temporal nominals may be generated as the temporal NP of nominal sentences

These sentences also demonstrate that these temporal nominals require the S node they introduce to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/, which in turn restricts the rule of (TL) from applying. It is in this respect that the following sentences are ill-formed:

(6)

(i) */wihuw gaaɕdin/ min ilɕiɕa/

And he is sitting from the dusk time ie ever since dusk time.

(ii) */wihuw zaɕlaanin/ min immaɕaarib/

And he is sad from the sunset time.

(iii) */wihuw naaymin/ min ilɕasir/

And he is sleeping from the afternoon time.

(iv) */wi hum zaɕlaniin/ min iɕɕuhur/

And they are sad from the noon time.

(v) */winhin gaaɕdiin/ min issubih/

And we are sitting from the morning time.

As the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals are associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] that starts in the past and goes on to the present time, it is similar to the temporal nominal /min hiina/, differing only in the onset of this [+continuous] feature. In /min hiina/, it is way back in the past, in /min ?ams/, it is a day back in the past, and with the /min issubih/ group, it is several hours back in the past. And it is this association with the syntactic feature [+continuous] that starts in the past and continues to the present that allows /min hiina/, /min ?ams/ and the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals to require the S node it introduces to be preceded by the conjunction /wi-/ and not to subsume to the rule of (TL) even though they do differ in internal structure, ie the former two temporal nominals do not have a definite article whereas the latter group of temporal nominals do.

2.4.1.1.5.2: /min issubih/ group of Temporal Nominals

generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

Each of the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals may also be generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence; in which case it governs the S node it

introduces by requiring it to have an imperfective verb, and not a perfective verb. It also requires it to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/ and consequently it (ie the temporal NP) does not subsume to the rule of (TL). These characteristics associated with the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence are illustrated by the following sentences:

1)

(i) /min issubih/ --> wihuw yištaʔal/

From the morning onwards, and he is working.

(ii) /min issubih/ --> wihum yikannisuun/

From the morning onwards, and they are sweeping.

(2)

(i) /min iṣṣuhur/ --> wihum yikannissun/

From the noon onwards, and they are sweeping.

(ii) /min iṣṣuhur/ --> wahiyy tištaʔal/

From the noon onwards, and she is working.

(3)

(i) /min ilṣaṣir/ --> winhin ništaʔal/

From the afternoon onwards, and we are working.

(ii) /min ilṣaṣir/ --> winhin nikannis/

From the afternoon onwards, and we are sweeping.

(4)

- (i)
- //min immaɣarib/
- > wihuw yištaɣal/

From the sunset onwards, and he is working.

- (ii)
- //min immaɣarib/
- > wihiy tikannis/

From the dusk onwards, and she is sweeping.

(5)

- (i)
- //min ilɣiɣa/
- > wihiy tištaɣal/

From the dusk onwards, and she is working.

- (ii)
- //min ilɣiɣa/
- wahuw yikannis/

From the dusk onwards, and he is sweeping.

The above discussion of /min/ introduced temporal nominals has shown that they make the S node they introduce associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] and the verbal S node generate an imperfective verb, and not a perfective verb.

It has also shown that the time reference of the nominal sentence is solely determined by the time associated with the temporal NP whereas the time reference of the verbal sentence is partly determined by the verb form and partly by the temporal NP, which in this case has the syntactic feature [+continuous] since it has a /min/ introduced temporal nominal.

2.4.1.2: Temporal nominals with a Definite Article

The temporal nominals of this group are not associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] because they are introduced by a definite article and not the preposition /min/. The temporal nominals that have a definite article also differ from nouns that are introduced by a definite article in that they are nominals of invariable forms that have a definite article. That is, whereas a noun of time designation introduced by a definite article represents one of the variable forms of this particular noun and one that inflects for definiteness, the temporal nominal with a definite article has an invariable form that has a definite article as part of its lexical composition; and therefore is not regarded as the inflected form for definiteness. It is in this respect that the following are temporal nominals and not nouns of time designation:

- (⁽¹⁾i) /issubih/ "The morning".
- (ii) /issuhur/ "The noon".
- (iii) /il ɕasir/ "The afternoon".
- (iv) /immaɣaarib/ "The sunset".
- (v) /ilɕiša/ "The dusk".

Their temporal nominal status is verified by the fact that they are not the inflected forms of */subih/, */ṣuhur/, */ṣasir/, */maṣaarib/ and */ṣiṣa/, which are not acceptable lexical items in D.A.D. Therefore, the nominals in (1) have a fossilized definite article as part of their lexical composition and they are accordingly distinguished from nouns of time designation and have been classified as temporal nominals.

This group of temporal nominals also has the temporal nominal /ilyoom/ "today" and it is to be distinguished from the noun of time designation /ilyoom/ "the day". The former has an invariable form, and may be generated as the head of the temporal NP, in which case it exercises time government on the S node it introduces. The latter is a nominal of variable forms that inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession, number and duality; therefore, it must be introduced by a preposition if it is to function as a temporal. That is, the syntactic behaviour of /ilyoom/ "the day" is the same as that of /illeel/ "the night" since they are both nouns of time designation. Therefore, despite the fact that the temporal nominals of this group have a definite and so resemble nouns, yet they nevertheless differ from

nouns in that they have invariable forms that may be generated as temporals without the introduction of a preposition and in that they have a definite article as part of their lexical composition.

This group of temporal nominals also has the temporal nominals /halhiin/ "this the time" ie "the present time"; /ʃalhiin/ "the immediate present time", and /ʃii-kilhiin/ "that present time" ie "the more distant present time". These temporal nominals not only have a definite article as part of their lexical composition but also a specifier ie in /halhiin/, there is the specifier /ha(a-)/; in /ʃalhiin/, there is the deictic specifier /ʃa/; and in /ʃiikilhiin/, there is the deictic specifier /ʃiik/. It is the fossilization of these specifiers, along with the definite article, that indicates that these nominals are temporal nominals, and not nouns of time designation ie these nominals are also of invariable forms but these invariable forms not only have a definite article as part of their lexical composition but also a specifier.

The temporal nominals /ha lhiin/, /ʃalhiin/ and /ʃiik ilhiin/ are also important to us in that they demonstrate that the temporal nominal may be composed of

a specifier, a definite article and a bound morpheme. On the other hand, a temporal nominal cannot be composed of a definite article, a bound morpheme and an adjectival ie the temporal nominal cannot have the internal structure where it is qualified by an adjective. This is why */ilhiin haaḏa/ and */ilhiin ittaali/ are ill-formed. This restriction is not applicable to nouns of time designation ie a noun of time designation may be qualified by an adjective e.g. /fiššahir ittaali/ "in the month following". Therefore, the temporal nominal not only differs from the noun of time designation in that it functions as a temporal without the introduction of preposition but also in that it can have the internal structure where it is qualified by a specifier but not by an adjectival.

This group of temporal nominals also provides overt manifestation of the definiteness associated with the temporal nominals in general. That is, as these temporal nominals have a definite article as part of their lexical composition, this indicates why they are associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. It also verifies the nominal status of the temporals in D.A.D. syntax ie as the time expressions in D.A.D. are invari-

able forms that have a definite article as part of their lexical composition, they are nominals. But they are nominals that are different from nouns, adjectives, and participles, and, consequently, constitute a separate subclass.

This group of temporal nominals differs from the /min/ introduced temporal nominals in that they are not associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]; do not require the S node they introduce to be preceded by the conjunction /wi/; do not require the verbal S node they introduce to have an imperfective verb; and do subsume to the rule of (TL).

In the following discussion, each of the temporal nominals /halhiin/, /ṣalhiin/, /ṣiikilhiin/ will be dealt separately because each one exemplifies a distinct syntactic behaviour. As for the temporal nominals /issu-bih/, /iṣuhur/, /ilṣasir/, /immaṣaarib/ and /ilṣiṣa/, these will be dealt with together since they have the same syntactic behaviour. But /ilyoom/, on the other hand, is discussed separately since it has a different syntactic behaviour.

2.4.1.2.1: /halhiin/ "This the present time":

This temporal nominal, as we have seen, is composed of the specifier /ha(a)/; the definite article /-l-/; and the bound morpheme /hiin/; all of which constitute part of the lexical composition of this nominal that has an invariable form. /halhiin/ has a wider syntactic distribution than /min hiina/. It may be generated in some of the A-positions in S node and in such cases it is entity denoting ie it does not exercise time government. The following sentences and their S-structures demonstrate that /halhiin/ may be generated as the subject of a nominal sentence and the complement of a preposition:

(1)

(i) /halhiin ?akθar xeer/

This the present time is more bountiful.

(ii) /halhiin ?in^Saamin tammah/

This the present time is complete luxury.

(iii) /halhiin ?ašwa min ?awwal/

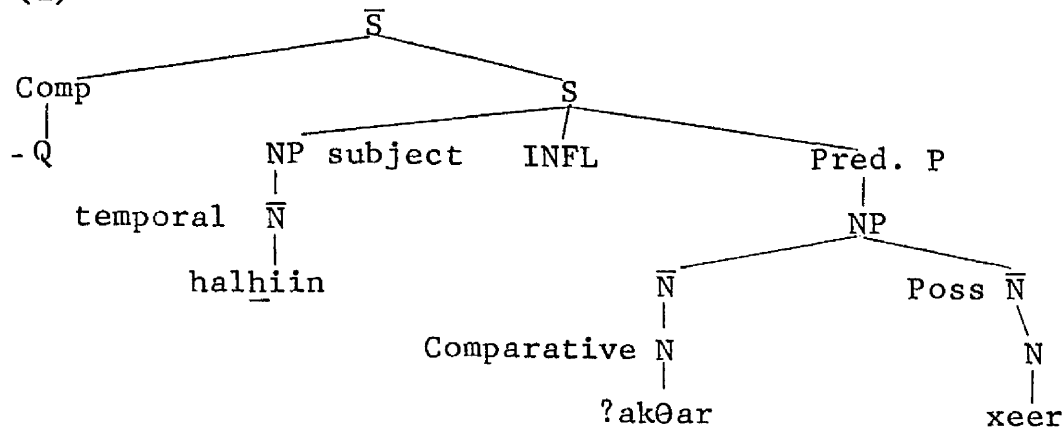
This the present time is better than the first ie
the past time.

(iv) /mahuub miθil halhiin/

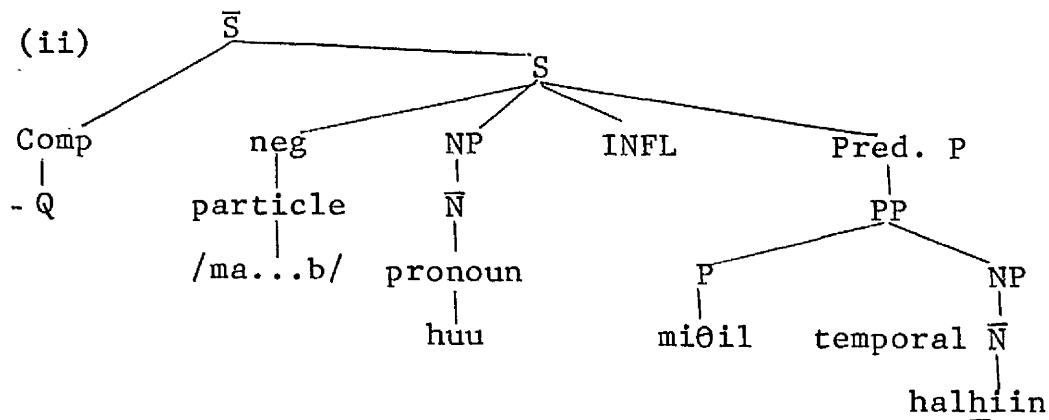
It (masc. sing) is not as with this present time.

(2)

(i)



(ii)



As S-structure 2(i) demonstrates, /halhiin/ may be generated as the NP subject. When /halhiin/ is generated as the NP subject, it is not followed by a pause. It differs in this respect from its being generated in the Comp A-position; in which case it is followed by a

slight pause indicating that it is generated prior to S node.

In S-structure 2(ii), /halhiin/ is also shown to be generated as the complement of the preposition /miθil/. Whether it is generated as the subject or the complement /halhiin/ in such cases is entity denoting. In the following discussion, we will have a look at /halhiin/ generated in the Comp A-position of nominal as well as verbal sentences.

2.4.1.2.1.1: /halhiin/ generated in the Comp. of the

D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /halhiin/ may be generated as the temporal NP in a nominal sentence and in such a case it sets the S node it introduces in the perspective of the present time ie it exercises time government on that S node.

(1)

(i) /halhiin/ --> iddarçiyyah hilwah/

Now, Darçiyyah is pretty.

(ii) /halhiin/ --> mabih illa-şşuunah/

Now, there is not except the social insurance ie

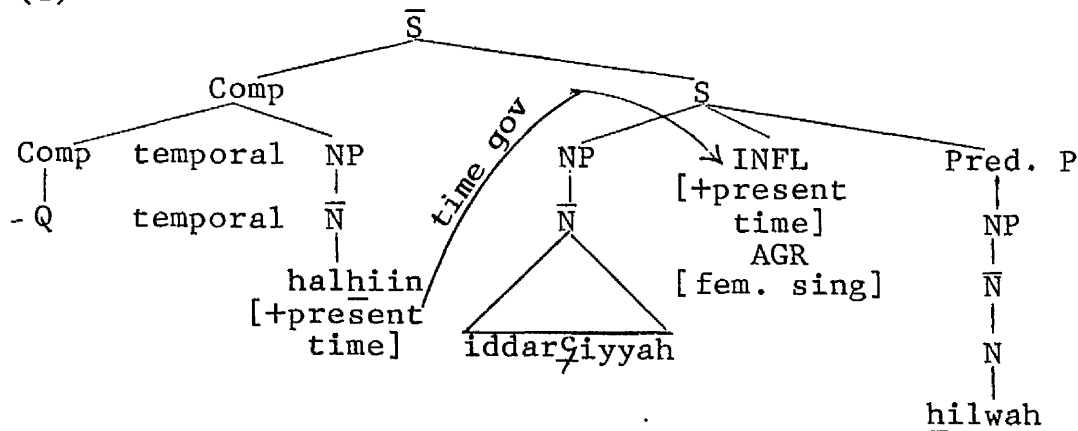
There is only the social insurance.

(iii) /halhiin/ --> zamanna zeen/

Now, our time is bountiful.

Taking sentence (1)(i) as an example, we have the following S-structure, in which it is shown that /halhiin/ is generated in Comp. as a temporal NP and in turn controls the time reference of its S node. This control is called Time government and is registered in INFL.

(2)



When the temporal nominal /halhiin/ generated as a temporal NP remains in Comp. (ie does not subsume to the rule of (TL)), the time reference of the sentence in which it is generated is not only emphasized but it is in its greatest degree of emphasis. On the other hand, when it has been moved from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node by the rule of (TL), it represents a lesser degree of time emphasis. This is because the

temporal NP has been moved in S node and so the time government exercised on that S node is by way of the trace of the temporal NP since the trace is left behind in Comp. The following sentences and S-structure demonstrate that the temporal nominal /halhiin/ generated as a temporal NP subsumes to the rule of (TL), in which case it is moved from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node and in turn its time reference becomes less emphatic.

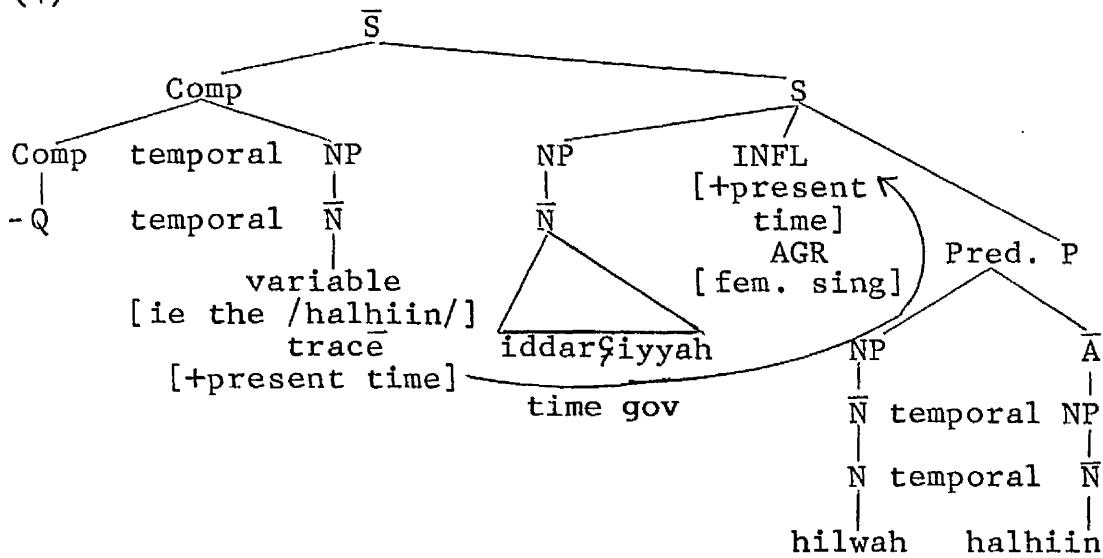
(3)

(i) /iddarçiyah hilwah/halhiin/

(ii) /mabih illa-ššuuunah/halhiin/

(iii) /zamanna zeen/halhiin/

(4)



The above discussion of the syntactic behaviour of /halhiin/ demonstrates that there are two different degrees of time emphasis in D.A.D. syntax. The greatest degree of time emphasis is represented by /halhiin/ generated as the temporal NP and not subsuming to the rule of (TL). The lesser degree of time emphasis is represented by /halhiin/ generated as the temporal NP and subsuming to the rule of (TL), in which case the time government of /halhiin/ over S node is indirectly achieved by way of its trace. However, in both cases (ie when the temporal NP is in Comp. or moved in S node) the time reference of the sentence is emphatic if compared with sentences that do not have a temporal NP at all. Therefore, in the D.A.D. nominal sentence there are three degrees of time reference. The time reference of the sentence may be implicit and such is the case when the sentence does not have temporal NP and its time reference is deduced from the previous discourse. The time reference may also be fully emphatic and this is the case when a temporal NP is generated in the Comp. of that sentence and remains in Comp. But if the speaker wishes to decrease the degree of emphasis, the temporal NP is moved from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S

node. Some temporal nominals allow both degrees of emphasis and these may be represented by the temporal nominals of this groups ie /halhiin/ etc. as distinct from temporal nominals that must be fully emphasized such as /min hiina/ etc.

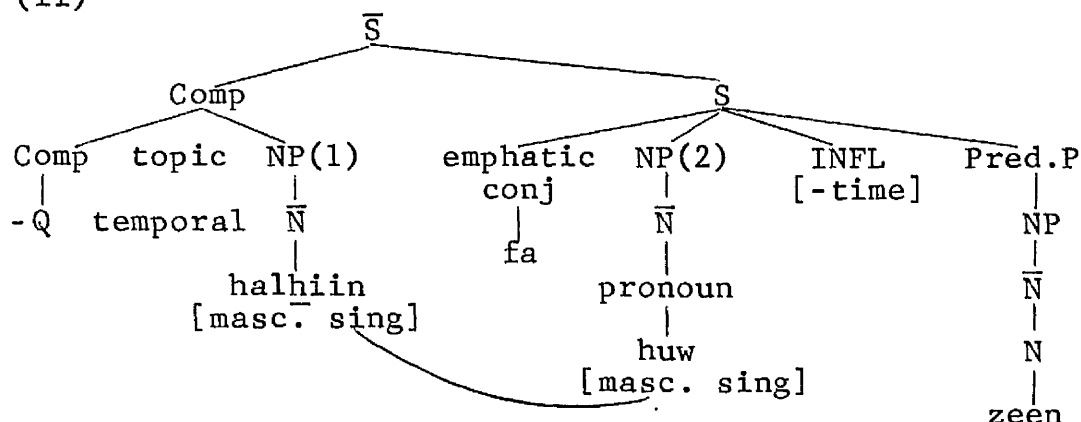
Apart from being generated as the temporal NP, /halhiin/ may also be generated as the topic NP; in which case it is generated in the Comp. A-position and holds a relation with only one constituent in S node ie an NP. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(5)

(i) /halhiin/ --> fahuw zeen/

This the present time, then it is plentiful.

(ii)



As can be seen from S-structure 5(ii), /halhiin/ controls NP(2) ie it binds NP(2). Accordingly, /halhiin/

does not exercise time government on the S node it introduces and in such a case, it is generated as a topic NP, and not as a temporal NP.

2.4.1.2.1.2: /halhiin/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

When /halhiin/ is generated as the temporal NP in a verbal sentence, it allows the verb form to be perfective or imperfective. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /halhiin/ --> şajizt/

Now, I have aged.

- (ii) /halhiin/ --> hattu halbarçih/

Now, they have put this pond.

- (iii) /halhiin/ --> jah/

Now, they have come.

(2) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /halhiin/ --> yihuttuun raashum ciða/

Now, they are wearing their hair like this.

- (ii) /halhiin/ --> yidrissun/

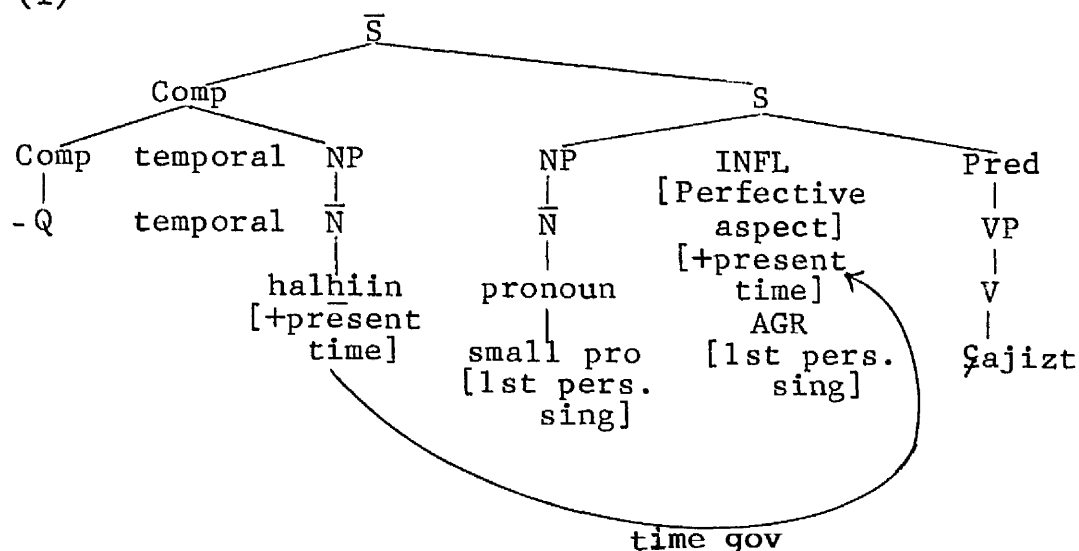
Now, they are studying.

The time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentences that have /halhiin/ as the temporal NP is the net result

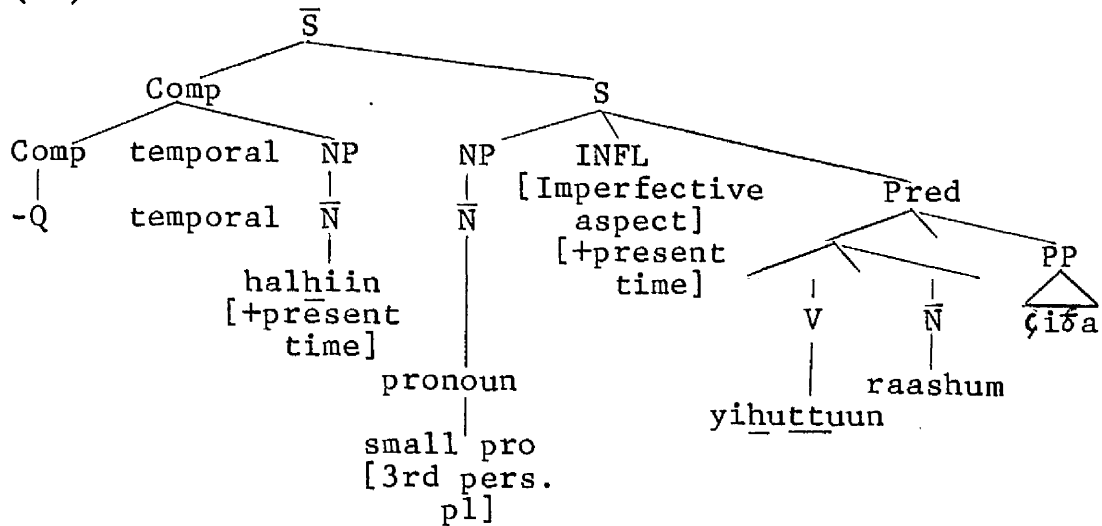
of the time associated with /halhiin/ and the verb form in the S node it introduces. If the verb is perfective, then we have the combination of the perfective aspect with the present time associated with /halhiin/. And if the verb is imperfective, then we have the imperfective aspect in combination with the present time associated with /halhiin/. This is demonstrated by the following S-structures of (1)(i) and (2)(ii), in which it is shown that the time reference of both the verb and the temporal is registered in INFL.

(3)

(i)



(ii)



As can be seen from S-structures 3(i)+(ii), the time reference of these sentences is the net result of the temporal NP and the verb form, whose time references are registered in the head of S node ie INFL since INFL is an abstraction of the time reference in the sentence.

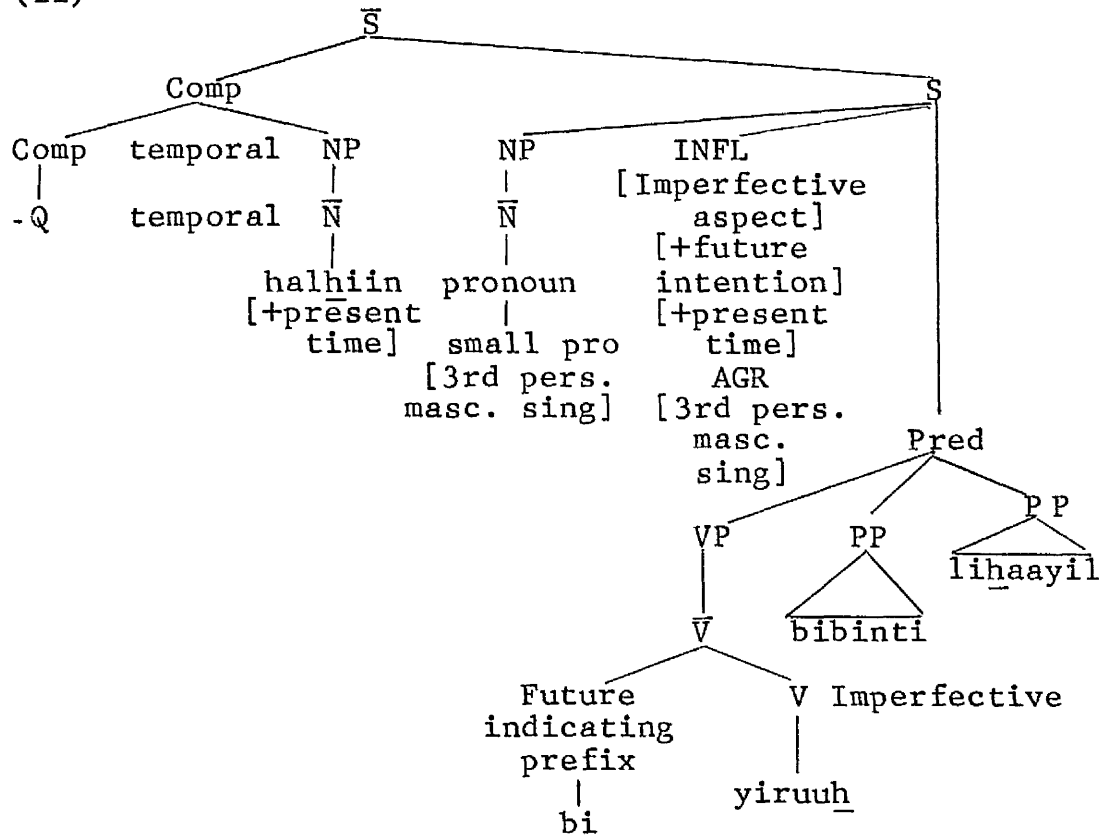
The temporal nominal /halhiin/ may also be generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence that has an imperfective verb that has the /bi-/ prefix, which is a future indicating verbal prefix. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and its S-structure:

(4)

(i) /halhiin --> biyiruuḥ bibinti lihaayil/

Now, he is going to go ie intends to be going to
Haayil with my daughter.

(ii)



As can be seen from S-structure 4(ii), the time reference of this sentence is the net result of the Imperfective verb form; the /bi-/ prefix; and the temporal NP. As a result, the time reference in this sentence is indicative of a near future progressive action that is colored with intention on the part of the speaker. That the future action is near to the present is indicated by the presence of the temporal nominal /halhiin/ generated as the temporal NP. The futurity of the

action as well as the attitude of intention on the part of the speaker is indicated by the verbal prefix /bi/;¹ and the fact that the action is progressive is indicated by the Imperfective verb form. It is also to be noted that the verbal prefix /bi-/ is only carried by the Imperfective verb form.

As with the nominal sentence, /halhiin/ generated in a verbal sentence as the temporal NP subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(5) With Perfective Verb Forms:

(i) /ʕajizt/ halhiin/

I've aged, now.

(ii) /jah/ halhiin/

He has just come.

¹The /bi/ verbal prefix in D.A.D. is future indicating but in Egyptian Arabic there is a homophonous /bi/ verbal prefix that indicates the progressiveness of the action. It follows that in D.A.D. futurity is indicated by the temporal nominals /baaʕir/ "tomorrow", /min baaʕir/ "from tomorrow onwards", and the verbal prefix /bi-/. But the verbal prefix is also associated with the notion that there is intention on the part of the speaker. It may be translated in English by the "going to" future construction.

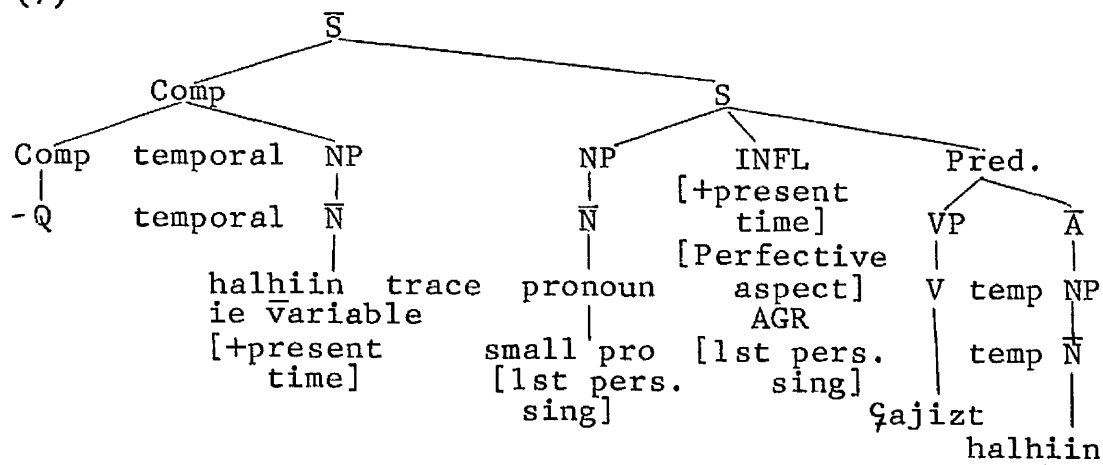
(6) Verb Imperfective Verb Forms:(i) /yihuttuun raashum ɕiða/ halhiin/

They are wearing their hair like this now.

(ii) /yidrisuun/ halhiin/

They are studying now.

(7)



As can be seen from S-structure (7), /halhiin/ has been moved from the *Comp*. A-position down to an adjunct position in *S* node. As a result, it is the variable that exercises time government on *S* node since it is still in *Comp*. at S-structure. It is in this respect that a sentential configuration whether verbal or nominal with the temporal NP moved from *Comp* is regarded as being less emphatic than that in which the temporal NP is in *Comp*. This is because when the temporal NP is in *Comp*, it itself exercises time government but when it

has been moved to S node, it is its trace that exercises time government.

Despite the fact that /halhiin/ is a temporal nominal that may be moved by the rule of (TL) when it is generated as a temporal NP, yet the following sentence is regarded as ill-formed:

(8) */biyiruuh bibinti lihaayil/halhiin/

The ill-formedness of this sentence is because when /halhiin/ is generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence that has the verbal prefix /bi-/, it does not subsume to the rule of (TL). That is, it subsumes to a locality condition that requires /halhiin/ to remain in Comp. so that together the present time conveyed by /halhiin/ and the future time conveyed by the prefix /bi/ convey a near future time perspective.

The incapacity of /halhiin/ generated as a temporal NP in a verbal sentence with the verbal prefix /bi-/ to subsume to the rule of (TL) provides further evidence of the fact that the temporal NP in its base generated position (ie in Comp) is more emphatic than when it is lowered. This is because when it is in Comp., it itself heads \bar{S} and introduces S node. Therefore, it directly governs that S node, and not by way of its trace.

This direct government of the temporal NP is necessary when the temporal nominal is /halhiin/ and the verbal S node has the verbal prefix /bi-/ because it is /halhiin/ that sets the future action into the perspective of the present, becoming a near future action. This direct government has also been shown to be required as regards /min hiina/, /min ?ams/ and the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals. This is also probably due to the fact that all these temporal nominals are associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] that starts in a past perspective and goes on to the present time and this has been demonstrated by their requiring the conjunction /wi/ to precede the S nodes they introduce. Therefore, when the time reference of the sentence is the combination of the reference of the temporal nominal as well as an element in S node (apart from the perfective and the imperfective verb forms), the temporal NP does not subsume to the rule of (TL). It remains in Comp. where it can directly govern the S node that has the verbal prefix /bi-/ in the case of /halhiin/ or the S node introduced by the conjunction /wi/ in the case of the temporal nominals /min hiina/, /min ?ams/ and the /min issubih/ group of temporal nominals.

2.4.1.2.2: /ʃalhiin/ "The immediate present time":

The temporal nominal /ʃalhiin/ is composed of the deictic specifier /ʃa/; the definite article /-l-/; and the bound morpheme /hiin/; all of which form part of the lexical composition of this nominal with an invariable form. As the deictic specifier /ʃa/ is part of a temporal nominal, it acquires a temporal dimension, and not a spatial one. Accordingly, it makes /ʃalhiin/ refer to a more immediate present time than that referred to by /halhiin/. This is demonstrated by the following sentence, in which it is shown that /ʃalhiin/ refers to a more immediate present time than /halhiin/ does not.

(1)

(i) //ʃalhiin/ --> ?ajiib iʃʃaahi/

Immediately, I am bringing the tea.

(ii) //halhiin/ --> ?ajiib iʃʃaahi/

Now, I am bringing the tea.

/ʃalhiin/ also differs from /halhiin/ in that it is restricted in its syntactic distribution to that of the Comp. A-position and that it is only generated as a temporal NP, and not a topic NP. This is demonstrated by the following discussion.

2.4.1.2.2.1: /ḡalhiin/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

As with /halhiin/, /ḡalhiin/ may be generated as the temporal NP of a nominal sentence. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

- (i) /ḡalhiin/ --> iddarḡiyyah hiilwah marrah/

This immediated present time, Darḡiyyah is very pretty.

- (ii) /ḡalhiin/ --> ?ummi ṣaaditin binti/

This immediate present time, my mother is taking care of my daughter.

- (iii) /ḡalhiin/ --> ḡindi beet/

This immediate present time, I have a house.

- (iv) /ḡalhiin/ --> fih beet/

This immediate present time, there is a house.

Accordingly, /ḡalhiin/ exercises time government on the S node it introduces, setting the above mentioned nominal clauses in the immediate present time perspective.

/ḡalhiin/ is also similar to /halhiin/ in that it subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(2)

- (i) /iddar $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ iy $\dot{\text{y}}$ ah $\dot{\text{h}}$ ilwah marrah/ $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/

Dar $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ iy $\dot{\text{y}}$ ah is very pretty at this immediate moment.

- (ii) /ʔummi $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ aaditin binti/ $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/

My mother is taking care of my daughter at this immediate moment.

- (iii) / $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ indi beet/ $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/

I have a house at this immediate moment.

- (iv) /fih beet/ $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/

There is a house at this immediate moment.

And in a similar respect, / $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/ moved from Comp down to an adjunct position in S node has its time reference less emphatic than when it is in its base generated position. That is, the time reference of / $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/ in sentences (1) is more emphatic than that of sentences (2).

2.4.1.2.2.2: / $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/ generated in the Comp of the

D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

As with / $\dot{\text{h}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/, / $\dot{\text{ḡ}}$ al $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/ allows the verbal S node it introduces to have an imperfective or a perfective verb. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

(1) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ʃalhiin --> jaab iššaahi/

This immediate present time, he brought the tea.

He has just brought the tea.

- (ii) /ʃalhiin --> jah/

He has just come.

- (iii) /ʃalhiin --> raah libeetih/

He has just gone to his house.

(2) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ʃalhiin --> yijibuun iššaahi/

This immediate present time, they are bringing the tea ie They are bringing the tea right this very moment.

- (ii) /ʃalhiin --> niruuh lissuug/

Immediately, we are going to the market.

- (iii) /ʃalhiin --> yimšituun/

Immediately, they are combing their hair.

Since /ʃalhiin/ allows its S node to have a perfective or an imperfective verb the time reference of the sentence is the net result of the verb form (ie be it perfective or imperfective) as well as the semantic range of /ʃalhiin/. Therefore, with the perfective verb, there is the notion that the completed act is a very

recent past whereas with the imperfective verb, there is the notion that the present progressive action is to be accomplished in the immediate present.

As in the nominal sentence, /ʃalhiin/ generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence also subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(3) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /jaab iʃʃaahi/ʃalhiin/

He has just brought the tea.

- (ii) /jah/ʃalhiin/

He has just come.

- (iii) /raah libeetih/ʃalhiin/

He has gone to his house.

(4) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /yijibuun iʃʃaahi/ʃalhiin/

They are bringing the tea, immediately.

- (ii) /niruuḥ lissuug/ʃalhiin/

We are going to the market, immediately.

- (iii) /yimʃituun/ʃalhiin/

They are combing their hair, immediately.

2.4.1.2.3: /ḡiik ilhiin/ "The distant present time"

The temporal nominal /ḡiik ilhiin/ is composed of the deictic specifier /ḡiik/; the definite article ie /-l-/; and the bound morpheme /hiin/, all of which form part of the lexical composition of this temporal nominal with an invariable form. As the deictic specifier /ḡiik/ refers to far away objects, it acquires a temporal dimension in /ḡiik ilhiin/ and, therefore, makes the temporal nominal refer to "a distant present time". It is in juxtaposition with /ḡalhiin/, which refers to "the immediate present time". And together both /ḡalhiin/ and /ḡiik ilhiin/ more or less equate /halhiin/, which refers to all the present time that is viewed as incorporating the immediate present time and may extend up to a period of forty years. The wide semantic range of /halhiin/ is due to the fact that it does not have a deictic specifier as part of its lexical composition, rather it has the /ha(a)/ specifier. As for /ḡalhiin/ and /ḡiikilhiin/, they have a more restricted semantic range because they have the deictic specifiers /ḡa-/ and /ḡiik/.

As with /ḡalhiin/, /ḡiik ilhiin/ is restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position and

to the generation of a temporal NP, and not a topic NP. This is demonstrated by the following discussion.

2.4.1.2.3.1: /ḡiik ilhiin/ generated in the Comp of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /ḡiik ilhiin/ generated as the temporal NP of a D.A.D. nominal sentence sets that nominal S node in a distant present time perspective:

(1)

(i) //ḡiik ilhiin/ --> nafih madarris/

(In) That distant present time, there are no schools.

(ii) //ḡiik ilhiin/ --> innaas ishaah/

(In) That distant present time, people are healthy

(iii) //ḡiik ilhiin/ --> ḡindi ḡiylaan/

(In) That distant present time, I have children.

As with /halhiin/ and /ḡalhiin/, /ḡiik ilhiin/ subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(i) /ma fih madaaris /ḡiik ilhiin/

(ii) /innaas ishaah /ḡiik ilhiin/

(ii) /ḡindi ḡiylaan /ḡiik ilhiin/

2.4.1.2.3.2: /ḡiik ilhiin/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

/ḡiik ilhiin/ may also be generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

(1) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ḡiik ilhiin/ --> ma ruhna willa jaana/

(In) that distant present time, we did not go or come ie We had not seen places.

- (ii) /ḡiik ilhiin/ --> innaas ḡaharu/

(In) that distant present time, the people left.

(2) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ḡiik ilhiin/ --> ma naakil dihin innajdiyaat/

(In) That distant present time, we do not eat the meat of goats.

- (ii) /ḡiik ilhiin/ --> yimṣiṭuun/

(In) That distant present time, they comb their hair in a special way that has "mishat".

As with the nominal sentence, /ḡiik ilhiin/ generated as a temporal NP subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(3) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ma ruhna willa jaana/ ḡiik ilhiin/

(ii) /innaas ḡaharu /ḡiik ilhiin/

(4) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

(i) /ma naakil dihin innajdiyaat /ḡiik ilhiin/

(ii) /yimṣituun /ḡiik ilhiin/

2.4.1.2.4: /ilyoom/ "today"

The temporal nominal /ilyoom/ is composed of the definite article /il-/ and the bound morpheme /yoom/; both of which form part of the lexical composition of this nominal with an invariable form. It has in this respect been differentiated from the noun of time designation /yoom/, which inflects for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession, number and duality. And this syntactic difference between /ilyoom/ as a temporal nominal and /ilyoom/ as a noun of time designation inflecting for definiteness is also correlated by a semantic difference ie the former refers to "today" whereas the latter refers to "the day".

That temporal nominal /ilyoom/ ie "today" is indeed distinct from the inflected form of the noun of time designation ie /ilyoom/ "the day" may also be demonstrated by the former nominal's incapacity to be qualified by an adjectival even when it is generated as the

NP subject. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /ilyoom/ barad/

(i) /ilyoom/ barad/^{old}.

(ii) /ilyoom/ harr/

Today is hot.

(iii) /ilyoom ittaali/ harr/

The next day is hot.

As shown in sentences (1)(i) and (ii), the temporal nominal ie /ilyoom/ is not qualified by an adjective. But in sentence (1)(iii), we have a noun of time designation and so it is qualified by an adjectival ie /ittaali/.

Therefore, despite the fact that the temporal nominal /ilyoom/ and the inflected noun of time designation /ilyoom/ are homophoneous, yet they differ in their internal structure and their syntactic behaviour. The noun of time designation has the syntactic behaviour of a noun ie it inflects for definiteness, indefiniteness, possession, number and duality as well as its capacity to be qualified by an adjective. But the temporal nominal /ilyoom/ has an invariable form that has a definite article and that may be generated as the temporal NP and

the topic NP of both verbal and nominal sentences. It may also be generated as the NP subject of a nominal sentence and in all these cases, it is never qualified by an adjective because it is not a noun, rather it is a nominal that belongs to a different subclass in the general class for nominals in D.A.D. syntax.

2.4.2.4.1: /ilyoom/ generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D.

Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /ilyoom/ may be generated as the temporal NP of nominal sentences:

(1)

(i) /ilyoom/ --> inti bizir/

Today, you (fem. sing) are a child.

(ii) /ilyoom/ --> hiy ?umm/

Today, she is a mother.

(iii) /ilyoom/ --> ?ummi šaaditin binti/
Today, my mother is taking care of my daughter.

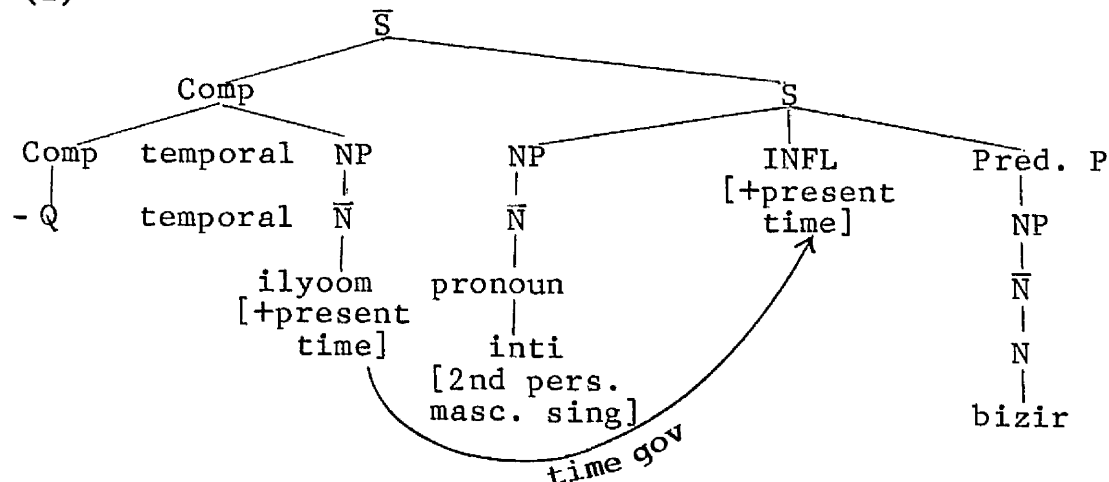
(iv) /ilyoom/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

Today, the water is plentiful ie there is a lot of water.

As the temporal nominal /ilyoom/ is associated with the present time, it governs the S node it introduces,

making that S node register in its INFL the syntactic feature [+present time]. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (1)(i):

(2)



That is, /ilyoom/ generated as a temporal NP holds a relation with all of S node, setting it in the perspective of the present time.

As with /halhiin/, /ilyoom/ subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /inti bizir /ilyoom/

You (fem sing) are a child today.

(ii) /hiy ?umm /ilyoom/

She is a mother today.

(iii) /ilmuyyah waajid /ilyoom/

There is plenty of water today.

/ilyoom/ is also similar to /halhiin/ in that it may be generated as a topic NP, in which case it only binds an NP in S node and does not exercise time government on that S node. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4)

(i) //ilyoom/ --> fahuw harr marrah/

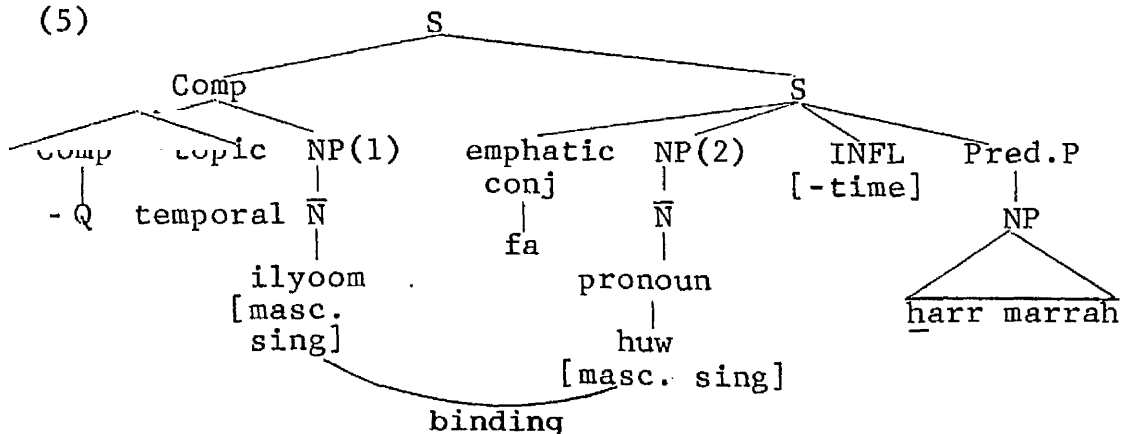
Today, it (masc. sing) is very hot.

(ii) //ilyoom/ --> mahuub barad/

Today, it (masc. sing) is not cold.

Since /ilyoom/ as a topic NP binds an NP in the S node it introduces, this indicates that it does not hold a relation with all of S node and this in turn differentiates it from the temporal NP even though they are both generated in the Comp. A-position. This difference is demonstrated by the following S-structure of 4(i) and it is to be compared with S-structure (2):

(5)



/ilyoom/ in S-structure (5) controls the agreement features of NP(2); that is, NP(1) binds NP(2) whereas /il-yoom/ in S-structure (2) controls all of S node and this control is registered in its INFL as time government, as shown by the syntactic feature [+present time] in its INFL.

2.4.1.2.4.2: /ilyoom/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

As with the /halhiin/ group of temporal nominals, /ilyoom/ allows the verb of the verbal S node it introduces to be either perfective or imperfective. And the time reference of the sentence is, accordingly, the net result of the time associated with the temporal as well as the aspect associated with the verb. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

(i) //ilyoom/ --> niruuh liddarçiyah/

Today, we are going to Darçiyah.

(ii) //ilyoom/ --> yiðharuun/

Today, they are going out.

(iii) //ilyoom/ --> tiruuh lissuug/

Today, she is going to the market.

(2) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) //ilyoom/ --> raah liddarçiyah/

Today, he has just gone to Darçiyah.

- (ii) //ilyoom/ --> çaharu/

Today, they have just gone out.

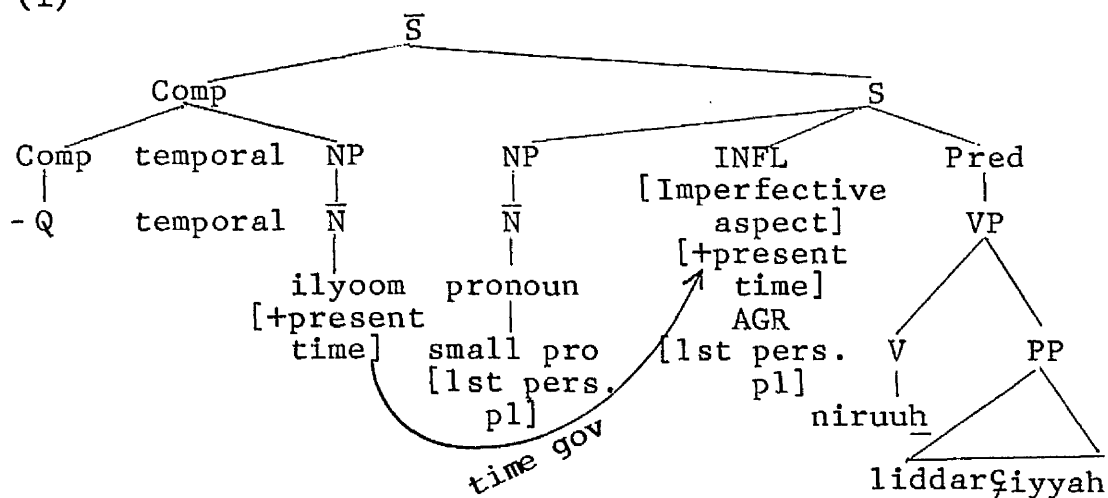
- (iii) //ilyoom/ --> raahit lissuug/

Today, she has just gone to the market.

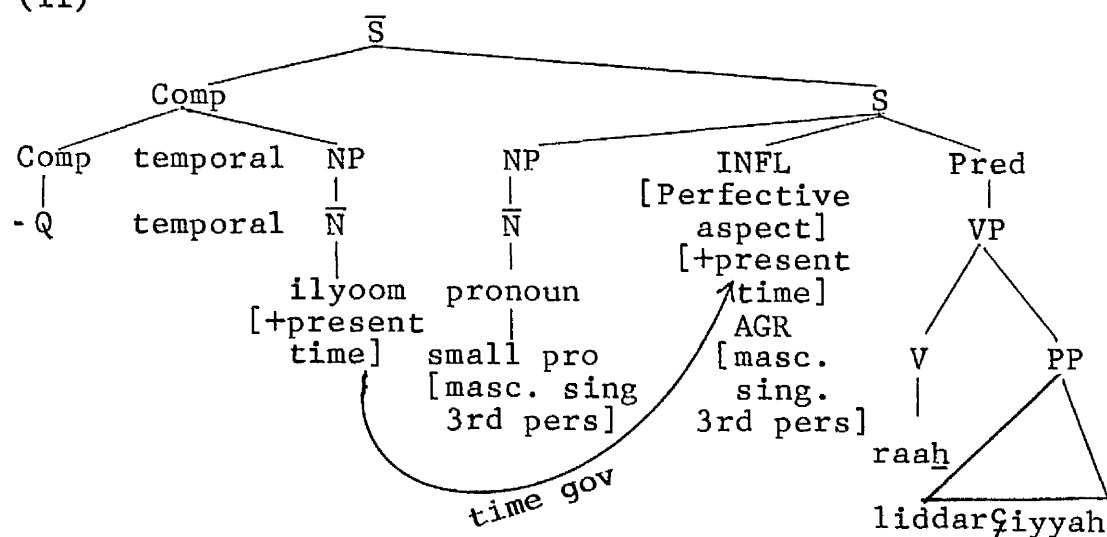
As the time reference of the verbal sentence is partly determined by the verb form and partly by the temporal NP generated in its Comp, the time reference of the temporal and the aspect associated with the verb form are both registered in INFL. This is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentences (1)(i) and (2)(ii):

(3)

(i)



(ii)



S-structures (3) demonstrate that /ilyoom/ generated as the temporal NP in the verbal sentence is associated with the syntactic feature $[+present \text{ time}]$ but this syntactic feature along with the imperfective verb in (3)(i) conveys a progressive action that is accomplished within the domain of /ilyoom/ ie today. And in S-structure (3)(ii) this syntactic feature along with the perfective verb conveys an accomplished action that is within the domain of today. That is, the time reference of the sentences in S-structures (3)(i) and (ii) are different even though they have the same temporal nominal generated as the temporal NP. This is due to the fact that the time reference of the verbal sentence is the result of the amalgamation of the reference of

the temporal as well as that of the verb, be it perfective or imperfective.

/ilyoom/ generated as a temporal NP also subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences, in which /ilyoom/ has been optionally moved from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node:

(i) /niruuh liddarÇiyyah/ilyoom/

We are going to DarÇiyyah today.

(ii) /yiðharuun/ilyoom/

They are going out today.

(iii) /raahh liddarÇiyyah/ilyoom/

He has just gone to DarÇiyyah today.

Being a temporal NP, /ilyoom/ holds a relation with all of S node even when it has been moved by the rule of (TL). It does so by way of its trace, which is still in Comp. and, therefore, exercises time government on the S node it introduces.

As in the nominal sentences/ ilyoom/ may also be generated as the topic NP and in such a case it only binds an NP in the S node it introduces. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

S-structure (6) demonstrates that /ilyoom/ generated as a topic NP binds the NP governed by the preposition /fiih/; therefore, it does not subsume to the rule of (TL), which is specific to temporal NPs. This S-structure also demonstrates that /ilyoom/, being a temporal nominal, has an invariable form that is not decomposable into the definite article and the noun /yoom/. And being a temporal nominal and not a noun of time designation, /ilyoom/ binds the NP governed by the preposition. That is, if we substituted a noun of time designation as the topic NP, it would not only be qualified by an adjectival but would also bind the NP that is governed by the verb. This is demonstrated by the following sentence and its S-structure, in which the topic NP has a noun of time designation:

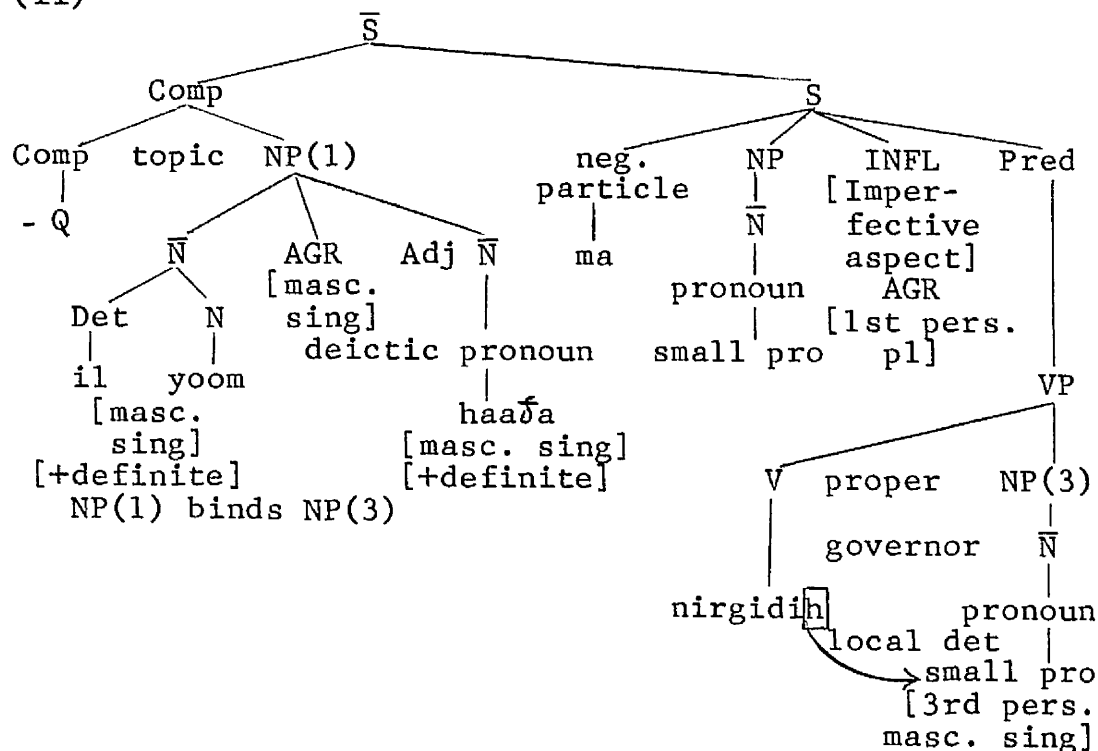
(7)

(i) /ilyoom haaḏa --> ma nirgidih/

The day this, we do not sleep it ie

This very day, we do not sleep it.

(ii)



Being a noun of time designation, /ilyoom/ in sentence 7 (i) and its S-structure 7(ii) is qualified by an adjective; decomposable into a definite article and a noun; and binds the NP governed by the verb. Therefore, despite the fact that both the noun of time designation and the temporal nominal of the type of /ilyoom/, /halhiin/, etc. may be generated as the topic NP, they nevertheless exemplify a different syntactic behaviour from nouns.

2.4.1.2.5: /issubih/ and its group of Temporal Nominals

The temporal nominals /issubih/, /i~~ṣ~~uhur/, /ilḩasir/, /immaḩaarib/, and /ilḩiṣa/ are discussed together because they have the same syntactic distribution ie they may be generated in some of the A-positions in S node and in the Comp A-position as a temporal NP or a topic NP. In S node, they may be generated as the NP subject, in which case they are entity denoting and may be demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) In Nominal Sentences

(i) /issubih h_{ilw}/

The morning time is nice.

(ii) /i~~ṣ~~uhur h_{arr}/

The noon time is hot.

(iii) /ilḩasir h_{arr}/

The afternoon time is hot.

(iv) /immaḩaarib barad/

The sunset time is cool.

(v) /ilḩiṣa barad/

The dusk time is cool.

(2) In verbal clauses

- (i)
- //ila jah issubih/
- ¹
- ma yakluun illa ha-nnawaašif

When the morning time comes, they not eat except these dry things ie uncooked food.

- (ii)
- //ila jah iḡḡuhur/
- ²
- nirgid/

When the noon time comes, we take a nap.

- (iii)
- //ila jah ilḡašir/
- gimna nitagahwah/

When the afternoon time comes, we get up to have coffee.

- (iv)
- //ila jah immaḡarib/
- ḡaharna/

When the sunset time comes, we go out.

- (v)
- //ila jah ilḡiša/
- yirgiduun/

When the dusk time comes, they go to sleep.

Taking sentences (1)(i) and (2)(ii) as examples, we have the following S-structures, which illustrate that

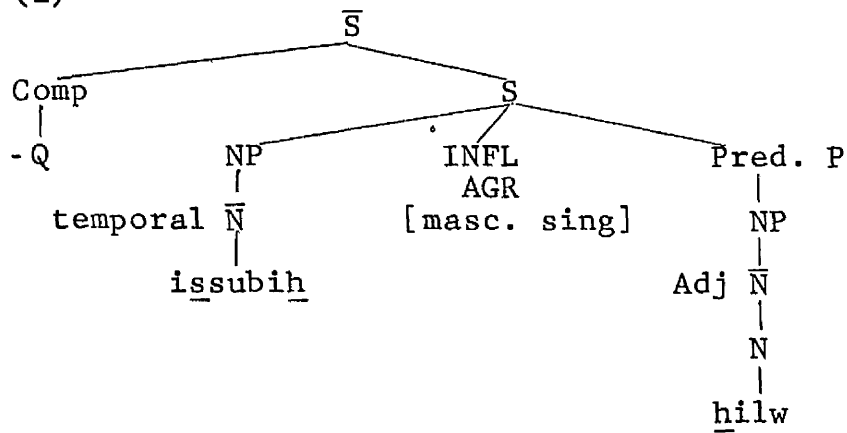
¹The temporal nominal /ilyoom/ cannot substitute for /issubih/ because of semantic restrictions. However the noun of time designation /ilyoom/ may substitute for /issubih/ eg /ila jah ilyoom hafalna/ When the day came, we celebrated. Therefore, /issubih/ has a wider syntactic distribution than /ilyoom/ as a temporal nominal.

²When a temporal nominal is generated as the NP subject of a verbal embedded clause that functions as a temporal in relation to the matrix clause, it is obligatorily moved to the postverbal position by the rule of subject inversion.

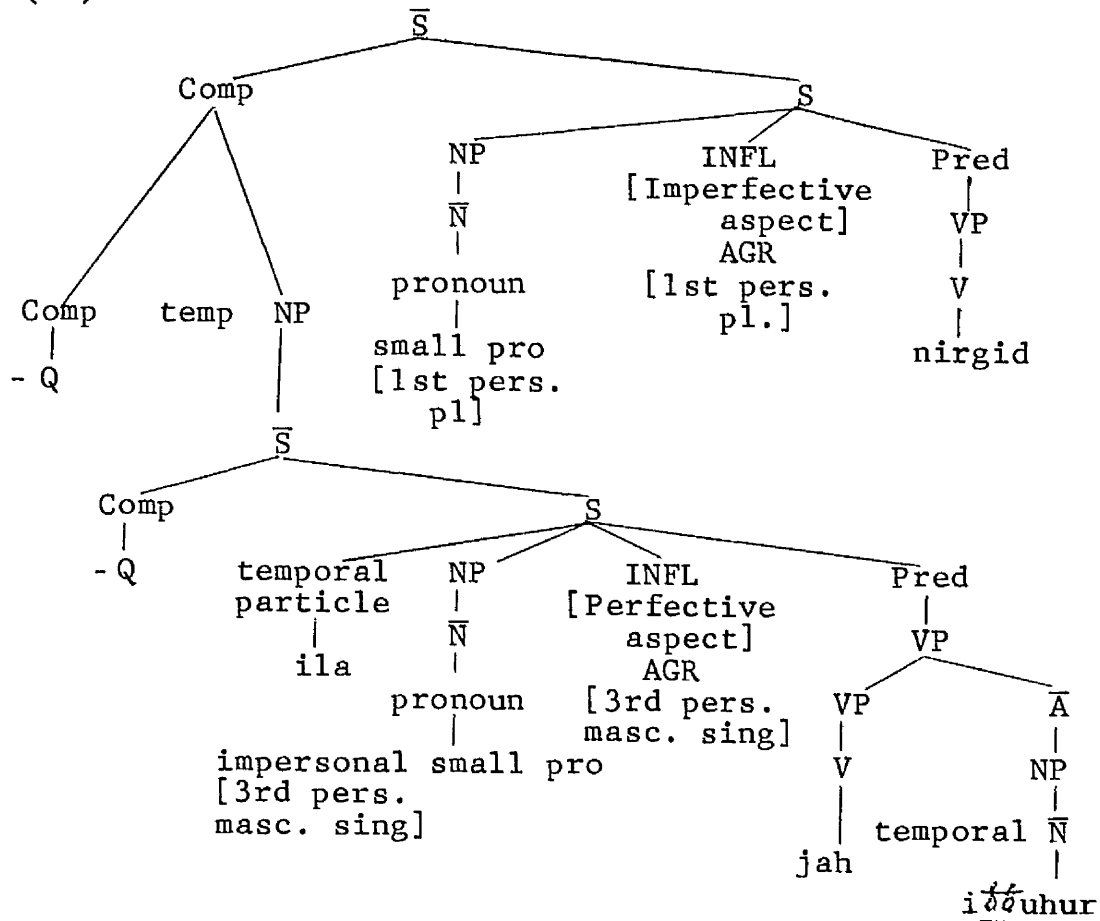
in sentence (1)(i) /issubih/ is the NP subject of a nominal sentence and in (2)(ii) /iḡuhur/ is the NP subject of an embedded verbal clause that functions as a temporal in relation to the matrix clause.

(3)

(i)



(ii)



In both S-structures, /iṣṣubih/ and /iḥḥuhur/ are shown to have invariable forms that are not decomposable into a definite article and a noun. In S-structure (3)(ii), /iḥḥuhur/ is shown to be in a postverbal position because it has obligatorily been moved from preverbal position by the rule of subject inversion. This demonstrates that the group of temporal nominals of /iṣṣubih/ may be generated as the NP subject of verbal embedded clauses

that function as temporal clauses but in such a case they are obligatorily moved to a postverbal position. The obligatoriness of the rule of subject inversion in this case may probably be due to the fact that the clause is already introduced by a temporal ie the temporal particle. As for S-structure (3)(i), it demonstrates that the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals may also be generated as the NP subject of a nominal sentence. Therefore, the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals may be generated in A-positions in S node such as the NP subject, as shown above.

2.4.1.2.5.1: The /issubih/ group of Temporal Nominals
generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. Nominal
Sentences

The /issubih/ group of temporal nominals may be generated as the temporal NP or as the topic NP when they are generated in the Comp. A-position of nominal sentences. In the following sentences, they are generated as the temporal NP because they hold a relation with all of S node, governing its time reference:

(1)

(i) /issubih/ --> iddarÇiyyah barad/

(In) The morning time, DarÇiyyah is cold.

(ii) /iṣṣubih/ --> ?ummi ṣaaditin binti/

(In) The morning time, my mother is taking care of my daughter.

(iii) /iṣṣubih/ --> ilmuyyāh waajid/

(In) The morning time, the water is much.

(2)

(i) /iḍḍuhur/ --> iddarṣiyyah ḥarr/

(In) The noon time, Darṣiyyah is hot.

(ii) /iḍḍuhur/ --> hiy ṣaaditin binti/

(In) The noon time, she is taking care of my daughter.

(iii) /iḍḍuhur/ --> ilmuyyāh waajid/

(In) The noon time, the water is much.

(3)

(i) /ilṣasir/ --> iddarṣiyyah ḥarr/

(In) The afternoon time, Darṣiyyah is hot.

(ii) /ilṣasir/ --> hiy ṣaaditin binti/

(In) The afternoon time, she taking care of my daughter.

(iii) /ilṣasir/ --> ilmuyyāh waajid/

(In) The afternoon time, the water is much.

(4)

(i) /immaḫaarib/ --> iddarṣiyyah barad/

(At) The sunset time, Darġiyyah is cold/

(ii) /immaħaarib/ --> hiy šaaditin binti/

(At) The sunset time, she taking care of my daughter.

(iii) /immaħ^aarib/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

(At) The sunset time, the water is much.

(5)

(i) /ilġiṣa/ --> iddarġiyyah barad/

(At) Dusk time, Darġiyyah is cold.

(ii) /ilġiṣa/ --> ?ummi šaaditin binti/

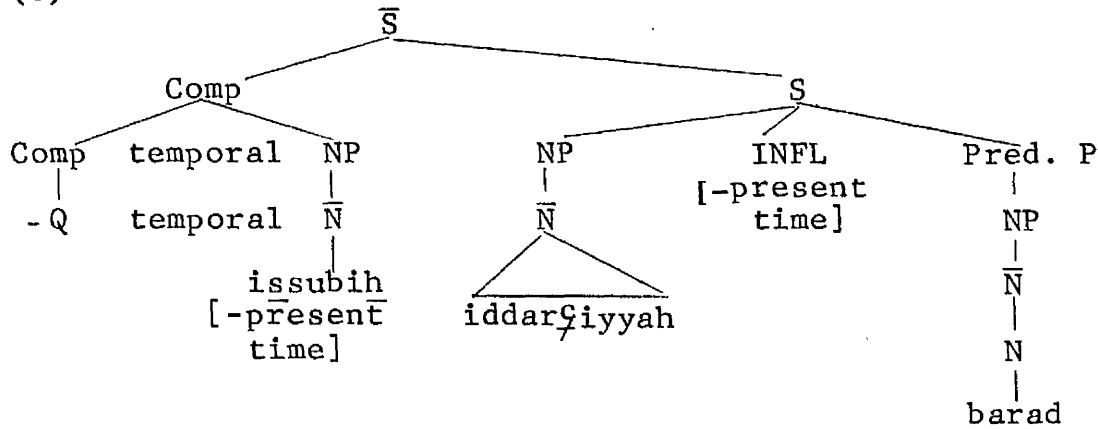
(At) Dusk time, my mother is taking care of my daughter.

(iii) /ilġiṣa/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

(At) The dusk, the water is much.

That the temporal nominals /issubih/ etc generated as a temporal NP determine the time reference of the nominal S node they introduce is demonstrated by the following S structure of sentence (1)(i):

(6)



This nominal S node is set in a time perspective that is not present because it has /issubih/ as the temporal NP. This is because the temporal nominals of /issubih/ etc refer to sessions of time within the day that do not refer to the immediate present time.

And as the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals refer to different sessions of time within the day other than the immediate present time, they may be set within a wider time perspective, which may be present, past, or future. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(7)

- (i) //ʔawwal/issubih/---> ilmuyyah waajid/

First the morning time, the water is much.

Water used to be plentiful in the morning.

- (ii) //halhiin/issubih/---> ilmuyyah waajid/

Now the morning time, the water is much.

(iii) /baaḡir/issubih/---> ilmuyyah waajid/

Tomorrow the morning time, the water is much.

In sentence (7)(1), /ʔawwal/ sets the domain of time reference in which /issubih/ is placed to be the past time. In (7)(ii) /halhiin/ sets /issubih/ in the domain of the present time and in (7)(iii), it is set in the domain of the future time. Therefore, despite the fact that the nominal S node introduced by the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals is associated with the syntactic feature of [-present time], this syntactic feature may be set in a wider domain of time that may be present, past or future and this is possible by the prior introduction of the temporal nominals /halhiin/, /ʔawwal/ and /baaḡir/, as shown by sentences (7).

As with /halhiin/ etc, the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals subsume to the rule of (TL) when they are generated as temporal NPs. This is illustrated by the following sentences.

(8)

(i) /iddarḡiyyah barad /issubih/

Darḡiyyah is cold (in) the morning.

(ii) /iddarḡiyyah harr /iḡḡuhur/

Darḡiyyah is hot (at) noon.

(iii) /iddar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah harr /il $\dot{\text{ç}}$ asir/

Dar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah is hot in the afternoon.

(iv) /iddar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah barad /imma $\dot{\text{ç}}$ aarib/

Dar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah is cold at sunset time.

(v) /iddar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah barad /il $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iša/

Dar $\dot{\text{ç}}$ iyyah is cold at dusk time.

And as with /hal $\dot{\text{h}}$ iin/, the moved temporal NP exercises time government on the S node its trace introduces by way of its trace, which is in Comp at S-structure. And in a similar respect, the moved temporal NP is less emphatic than when it remains in Comp. This applies to all the temporal nominals that are generated as a temporal NP and that subsume to the rule of (TL).¹

The following sentences demonstrate that the /issu-bih/ group of temporal nominals may also be generated as the topic NP of a nominal sentence, in which case they bind the NP subject.

(9)

(i) /issubih/ --> fa $\dot{\text{h}}$ uw hilw/

¹As a matter of fact, it even applies to any temporal whether a PP or a clause that has been moved from Comp. by the rule of (TL). See Introduction of Chapter IV, Part II, pp. 450-72 for examples.

The morning time [masc. sing], it [masc. sing] is nice.

- (ii) /i^{ff}uhur/ --> fahuw harr/

The noon time [masc. sing], it (masc. sing) is hot.

- (iii) /il^çasir/ --> fahuw harr/

The afternoon time [masc. sing], it (masc. sing) is hot.

- (iv) /imma^çaarib/ --> fahuw barad/

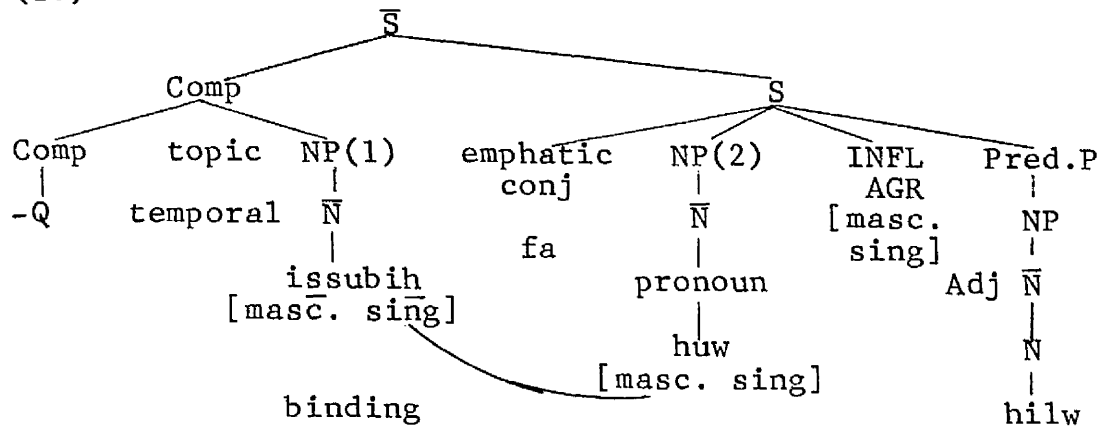
The sunset time [masc. sing], it (masc. sing) is cold.

- (v) /il^çiša/ --> fahuw barad/

The dusk time [masc. sing], it (masc. sing) is cold.

As can be seen from sentences (9), the subject pronominal has the features masculine and singular because it is bound by the temporal nominals /issubih/, /i^{ff}uhur/, /il^çasir/, /imma^çaarib/ and /il^çiša/ generated as the topic NP. This relation between the topic NP and the NP subject is demonstrated by the following S-structure of sentence (9)(i):

(10)



That is, NP(1) binds NP(2)

2.4.1.2.5.2: The /issubih/ group of Temporal Nominals
generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. Verbal
Sentence

This group of temporal nominals may also be generated in the the Comp. A-position of verbal sentences, in which case it may be a temporal or a topic NP. If it holds a relation with all of S nodes then it is a temporal NP, exercising time government on the S node it introduces. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(1) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

(i) //issubih/ --> yaklih/

(In) The morning, he will be eating it (masc. ing).

- (ii) /iṣṣubih/ --> niruuh lilbarr/
 (In) The morning, we will be going to the desert.
- (iii) /iṣṣuhur/ --> yaklih/
 (At) Noon, he will be eating it (masc. sing)
- (iv) /iṣṣuhur/ --> niruuh lilbeet/
 (At) Noon, we will be going to the house.
- (v) /ilḡasir/ --> yaklih/
 (In) The afternoon, he will be eating it (masc. sing).
- (vi) /ilḡasir/ --> niḡhar/
 (In) The afternoon, we will be going out.
- (vii) /immaḡaarib/ --> niḡhar/
 (At) Sunset, we will be going out.
- (viii) /immaḡaarib/ --> yaklih/
 (At) Sunset, he will be eating it (masc. sing).
- (ix) /ilḡiṣa/ --> yaklih/
 (At) dusk, he will be eating it (masc. sing).
- (x) /ilḡiṣa/ --> niḡhar/
 (At) dusk, we will be going out.
- (2) With Perfective Verb Forms:
- (i) /iṣṣubih/ --> ?akalih/
 (In) The morning, he ate it (masc. sing)
- (ii) /iṣṣubih/ --> ruhna lilbarr/

(In) The morning, we went to the desert.

(iii) /iʃʃhur/ --> ?akalih/

(At) noon, he ate it (masc. sing).

(iv) /iʃʃuhur/ --> nimna/

(At) noon, we slept.

(v) /ilʒasir/ --> gimna/

(In) The afternoon, we got up.

(vi) /ilʒasir/ --> ?akalih/

(In) The afternoon, he ate it (masc. sing).

(vii) /immaʒaarib/ --> ?akalih/

(At) sunset, he ate it (masc. sing).

(viii) /immaʒaarib/ --> ʃaharna/

(At) sunset, we went out.

(ix) /ilʒiʃa/ --> ?akalih/

(At) Dusk, he ate it (masc. and sing).

(x) /ilʒisa/ --> ʃaharna/

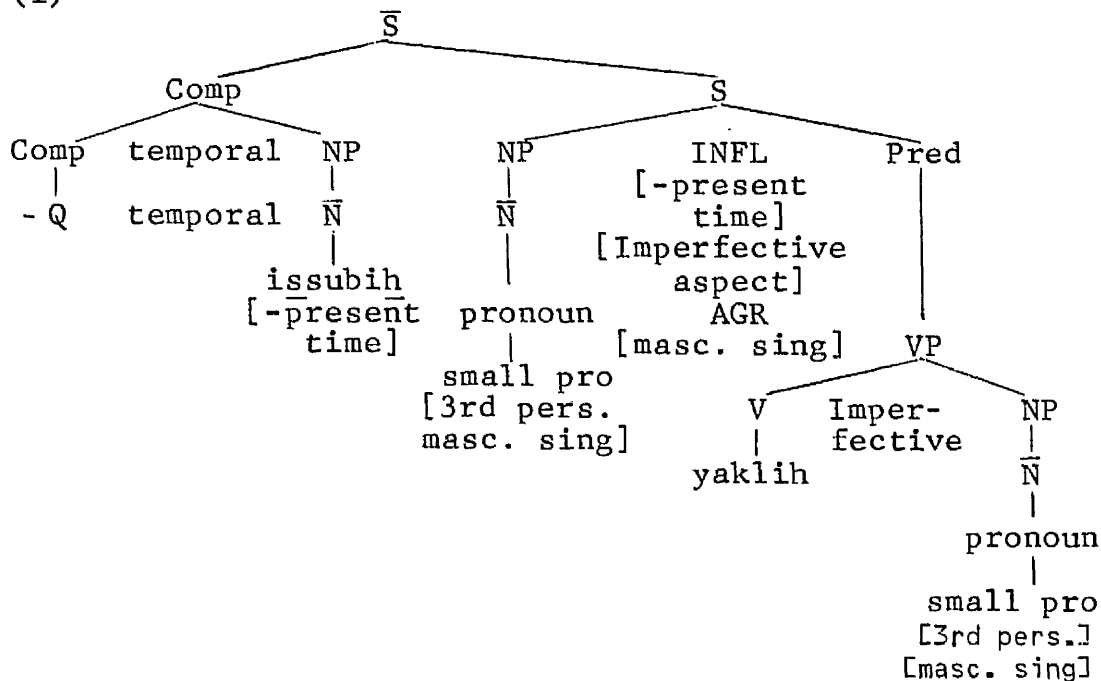
(At) Dusk, we went out.

The above sentences demonstrate that the temporal nominals /iʃʃubih/, /iʃʃuhur/, /ilʒasir/, /immaʒaarib/ and /ilʒiʃa/ may be generated as the temporal NP of verbal sentences. They also demonstrate that they allow the verb in the verbal S node they introduce to be either perfective or imperfective and that the time

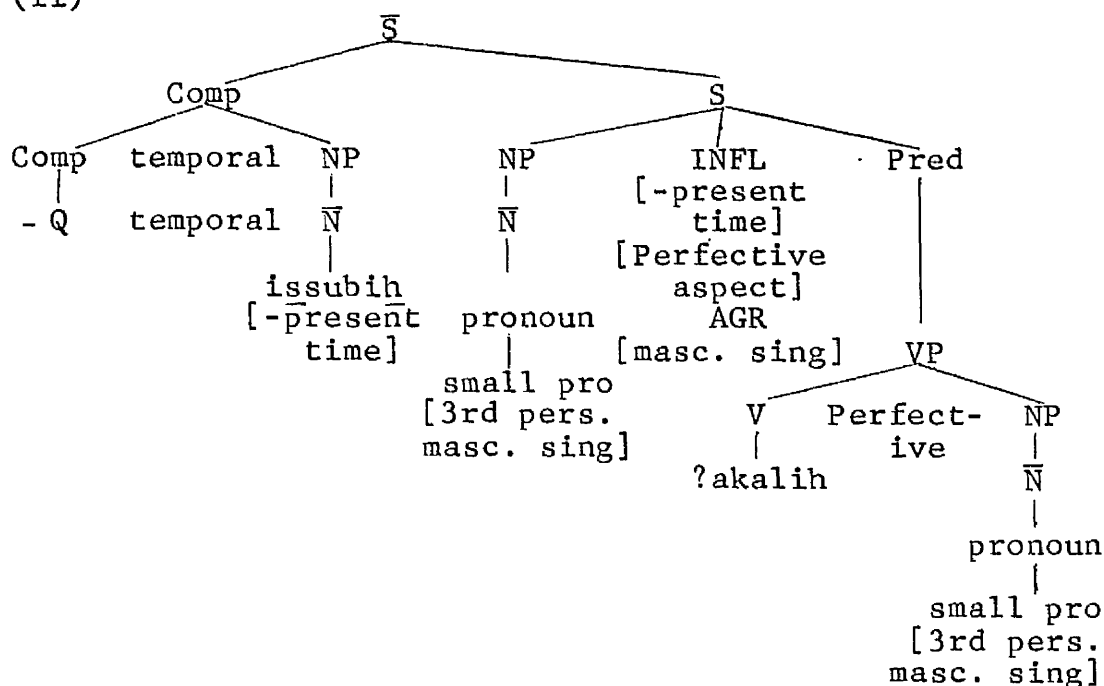
reference of these sentences, which are verbal, is the net result of the time associated with the temporal and the aspect associated with the verb form. This may be demonstrated by the following S-structures of sentences (1)(i) and (2)(i), in which it is shown that the temporal nominal /issubih/ generated as the temporal NP governs its S node making it acquire the syntactic feature [-present time] but the time reference of these sentences is also partly determined by the aspect of the verb:

(3)

(i)



(ii)



S-structure (3)(i) demonstrates that /issubih/ generated as the temporal NP makes INFL acquire the syntactic feature [-present time]. It also demonstrates that INFL has the Imperfective Aspect because the verb is imperfective. Together the syntactic feature [-present time] and the imperfective aspect either convey a future progressive time reference, as shown by the translations of sentences (1), or non-present habitual actions, as sentences (1) may also be interpreted.¹

¹For example, sentence (1)(i) may be translated as "In the morning, he eats it" i.e. he eats a certain type of food during the morning, and not at night or in the afternoon, etc.

In S-structure (3)(ii) /issubih/ also makes its INFL acquire the syntactic feature [-present time] but this INFL has the perfective aspect because the sentence has a perfective verb. The perfective verb along with /issubih/ generated as a temporal NP convey a completed action that has been accomplished at a specific time of the day which is that of "the morning". Therefore, /issubih/ in both S-structures conveys the specific time of the day in which the action took place and as this specific time is [-present time], it is set in the future time perspective when it cooccurs with an imperfective verb but when it cooccurs with a perfective verb, it is set in a past time perspective. This provides further evidence that the time reference of the verbal sentence in D.A.D. syntax is partly determined by the verb form and partly by the time associated with the temporal NP generated in its Comp.

As with all the temporal nominals that have a fossilized definite article, the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals subsume to the rule of (TL) when they are generated as temporal NPs. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /yaklih/issubih/

He will be eating it in the morning.

- (ii) /yaklih/iððuhur/

He will be eating it at noon.

- (iii) /yaklih/ilʕasir/

He will be eating it at the afternoon.

- (iv) /yaklih/immaʕaarib/

He will be eating it at sunset.

- (v) /yaklih/ilʕiʕa/

He will be eating it at dusk.

(5) With Perfective Verb Forms:

- (i) /ʔakalih/issubih/

He ate it in the morning.

- (ii) /ʔakalih/iððuhur/

He ate it at noon.

- (iii) /ʔakalih/ilʕasir/

He ate it in the afternoon.

- (iv) /ʔakalih/immaʕaarib/

He ate it at sunset.

- (v) /ʔakalih/ilʕiʕa/

He ate it at dusk.

On the other hand, if the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals are generated as the topic NP, they must remain in Comp because they bind an NP in the S node they introduce. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which the bound NP to the NP topic is governed by a preposition:

(6)

- (i) /issubih/ --> ma nirgid fih/

The morning, we do not sleep in it (masc. sing)
[masc. sing]

- (ii) /iḍḍuhur/ --> nirgid fih/

The noon time, we sleep in it (masc. sing).
[masc. sing]

- (iii) /ilḡasir/ --> nirgid fih/

The afternoon time, we sleep in it (masc. sing) ie
take a nap during it.

- (iv) /immaḡaarib/ --> ma nirgid fih/

The sunset time, we do not sleep in it.

- (v) /ilḡisa/ --> ma nirgid fih/

The dusk time, we do not sleep in it.

Therefore, the temporal nominals of /issubih/ etc. may also be generated as the topic NP but they differ from

nouns of time designation in that they bind an NP governed by a preposition.¹

2.4.1.3: Temporal Nominals without a Definite Article or a Preposition

The temporal nominals of this group have invariable forms that do not include a definite article or a preposition. This group of D.A.D. temporal nominals may be represented by the following:

- (1)
- (i) /?ams/ "yesterday"
- (ii) /baaḡir/ "tomorrow"
- (iii) /?awwal/ "first"

As with the group of temporal nominals that have a fossilized definite article, this group of temporal nominals is not restricted in its syntactic distribution to the Comp. A-position. That is, its members may be generated in some of the A-position in S node and may, furthermore, form coordinate structures with temporal nominals that have a definite article. This in turn demonstrates that they are associated with the syntactic

¹A noun of time designation, as exemplified by /illeel/, binds an NP that is governed by a verb, and not by a preposition ie /illeel --> ma nirgiḡ/ "The night time, we do not sleep it (masc. sing)".
↓
di

feature [+definite] even though they are not introduced by a definite article. And finally the temporal nominals of this group are also similar to the group of temporal nominals that have a definite article in that they subsume to the rule of (TL), in which case the time reference of the sentence becomes less emphatic than when the temporal is in Comp.

2.4.1.3.1: /?ams/ "yesterday"

The temporal nominal /?ams/ may be generated in some of the A-positions in S node, apart from the Comp. A-position. That it is generated in A-positions in S node may be illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

- (i) //ilyoom/wi/?ams/ ?ašwa min baaçir/

Today and yesterday are better than tomorrow.

- (ii) //?ams/ ?azyān min ilyoom/

Yesterday is nicer than today.

- (iii) /ilyoom ?ašwa /min/?ams/
PP

Today is better than yesterday.

These sentences demonstrate that /?ams/ may be generated as the NP subject or as the NP governed by the preposition /min/. Sentence (1)(ii) demonstrates that /?ams/

is generated as the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence and, as shown earlier, the NP subject in D.A.D. is always associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. It is, accordingly, assumed that /?ams/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite].

The assumption that /?ams/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] is verified by the fact that it forms a coordinate structure with /ilyoom/, which is a temporal nominal that has a definite article as part of its lexical composition. This coordination is demonstrated by sentence (1)(i), in which both /ilyoom/ and /?ams/ coordinate to form the NP subject of this sentence. Therefore, despite the fact that /?ams/ does not have a definite article as part of its lexical composition, yet it is nevertheless associated with the syntactic feature [+definite], which is a syntactic feature that is associated with all of the temporal nominals that the writer has encountered and that are being discussed in this thesis.

This syntactic feature, as mentioned earlier, is a syntactic correlate of the definiteness associated with the temporal nominals in meaning ie the temporal nominal generated as the temporal NP defines the time domain of

the sentence, instead of leaving its time reference indefinite in the sense that it acquires its time reference from its previous discourse.¹ But of course the temporal nominal only exercises time government when it is generated as a temporal NP, otherwise it is entity denoting as in sentences (1)(i) - (iii).

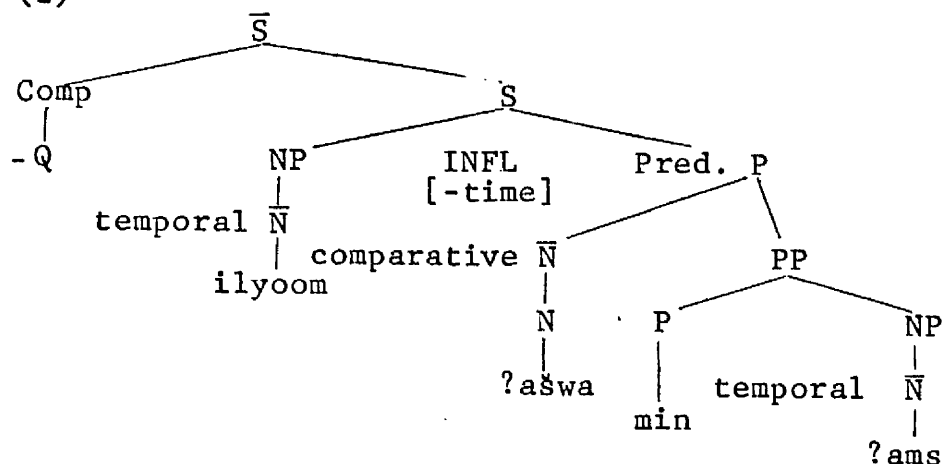
Apart from also verifying the fact that /?ams/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+ definite], sentence (1)(iii) also demonstrates that /?ams/ may be generated as the complement of a preposition. This not only reinforces its nominal status but also its definiteness even though it does not have a definite article. That is, as /?ams/ is a temporal nominal, it is already associated with the syntactic feature [+ definiteness] so that it is generated as the complement of the preposition without the prior introduction of a definite article. This also verifies the fact that /?ams/ is a temporal nominal, and not a noun, since it differs in its syntactic behaviour from that of nouns.

Sentence (1)(iii) is also of special importance as it demonstrates that /min ?ams/ is a PP and not the

¹See pp. 250-257 of Chapter III of Part I for a discussion of the D.A.D. nominal sentence in relation to its previous discourse.

temporal nominal /min ?ams/, described earlier. The internal structure of sentence (1)(iii) is demonstrated by the following S-structure:

(2)



"Today is better than (literally ie "from") yesterday." Being a PP, /min ?ams/ is decomposable into the preposition /min/ and its complement /?ams/, as indicated by S-structure (2). And that it is a PP and not a temporal nominal is verified on the basis of the fact that it is not associated with the syntactic feature [+ continuous] and on the phonological evidence which requires a sustained juncture after the preposition. Therefore, the temporal nominal /?ams/ may be generated in some of the A-positions in S node; examples of which are the prepredicate A-position of nominal sentences and the A-position governed by a preposition.

In the following discussion, it will be shown that /?ams/ may also be generated in the Comp. A-position of both verbal and nominal sentences.

2.4.1.3.1.1: /?ams/ generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D.
Nominal Sentence

When /?ams/ is generated in the Comp. A-position and holds a relation with all of the S node it introduces, it is generated as a temporal NP, which determines the time reference of the nominal S node it introduces. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(i)

(i) /?ams/ --> Ğindina naas/

Yesterday, we had people ie guests.

(ii) /?ams/ --> bih Ğirs/

Yesterday, there was a wedding.

(iii) /?ams/ --> il muyyah waajid/

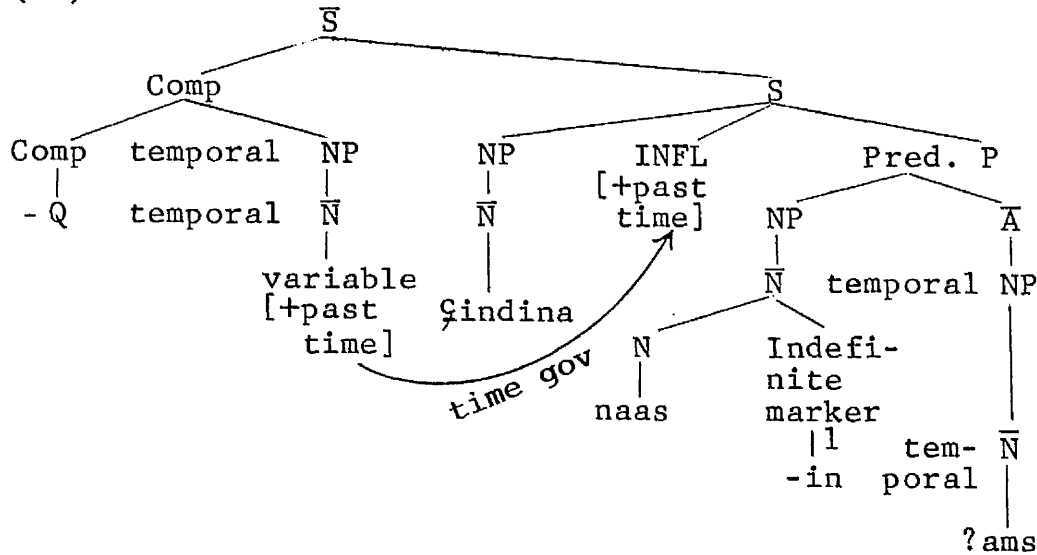
Yesterday, the water was much.

(iv) /?ams/ --> ?ummi šaaditin binti/

Yesterday, my mother was taking care of my daughter.

Having the syntactic feature [+past time], /?ams/ makes the INFL of the S node it introduces acquire this syntactic feature and in turn it governs the time refer-

(iv)



/?ams/ also resembles the group of temporal nominals that have a definite article as part of their invariable forms in that it may also be generated as a topic NP, in which case it simply binds an NP in the S node it introduces. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which it is also shown that the topic NP binds the NP subject when the sentence is nominal.

(4)

(i) /?ams/ --> fa huw harr marrah/

Yesterday, it really was very hot.
[masc. sing] [masc. sing]

(ii) /?ams/ --> mahubb harr marrah/

¹The indefinite marker is deleted when the noun is in a prepausal position.

Yesterday, it (masc. sing) was not very hot.
 Therefore, /?ams/ may be generated as the topic NP of a nominal sentence and in such a case it controls the agreement features of the NP subject.

2.4.1.3.1.2: /?ams/ generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D.

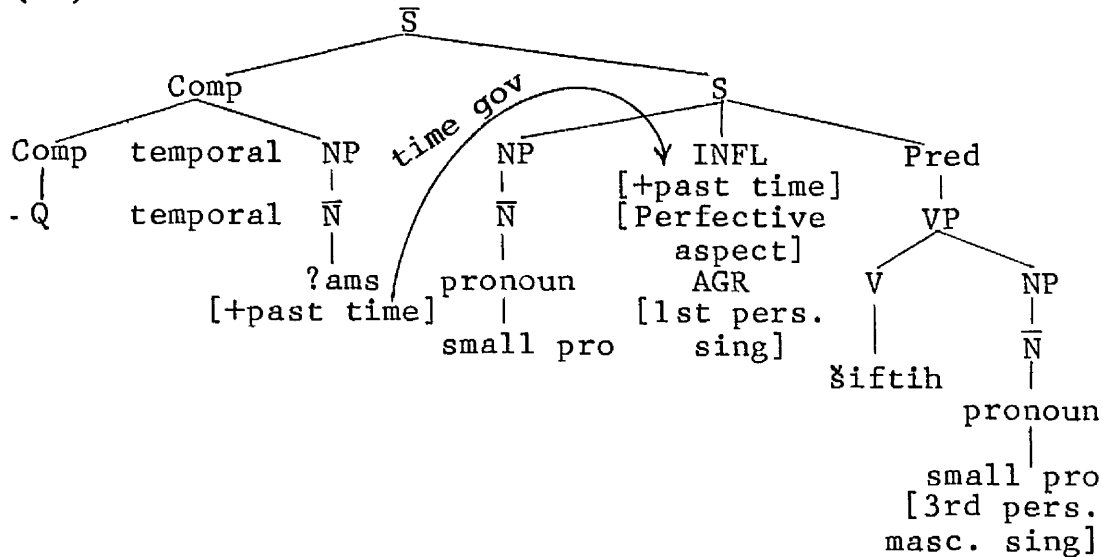
Verbal Sentence

As in the nominal sentence, /?ams/ generated in Comp. and holding a relation with all S node is generated as a temporal NP, in which case it exercises time government on the S node it introduces. This time government is not only demonstrated in that it sets the S node it introduces in a past time perspective but also in requiring that S node to have a perfective verb, and not an imperfective verb. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(1)

- (i) /?ams/ --> šifth/
 Yesterday, I saw him.
- (ii) /?ams/ --> faharu/
 Yesterday, they went out.
- (iii) /?ams/ --> raahu lissuug/
 Yesterday, they went to the market.

(iv)



The time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentence, as demonstrated by S-structure (1)(iv), is partly determined by the verb form and partly by the temporal. It is in this respect that a verbal sentence introduced by /?ams/ conveys a completed action² that has taken place in the domain of "yesterday".

/?ams/ generated as a temporal NP in a verbal sentence subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

²For the denotation of a past progressive action, the temporal nominal /?awwal/ in collaboration with the imperfective verb form are utilized in D.A.D. syntax, see pp. 584-590 of Chapter IV of Part II.

(2)

(i) /šiftih /?ams/

I saw him yesterday.

(ii) /šaharu /?ams/

They went out yesterday.

The syntactic behaviour of /?ams/ is the same as with all the other temporals in the sense that it exercises time government when it has been moved by way of its trace, which is left behind in Comp. And again the moved temporal denotes a less emphatic time reference.

It was shown in the discussion of section 2.4.1.3.1 that /?ams/ generated in the A-position in S node may form a coordinate structure with temporal nominals that do have a definite article as part of their lexical composition and it was on the basis of such evidence that /?ams/ has been regarded as having the syntactic feature [+definite] even though it itself does not inflect for possession or have a definite article as part of its lexical composition. The fact that /?ams/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] may be verified also by looking at it while it is generated in Comp. as a temporal and by demonstrating that it may be qualified by a temporal clause which restricts it in the

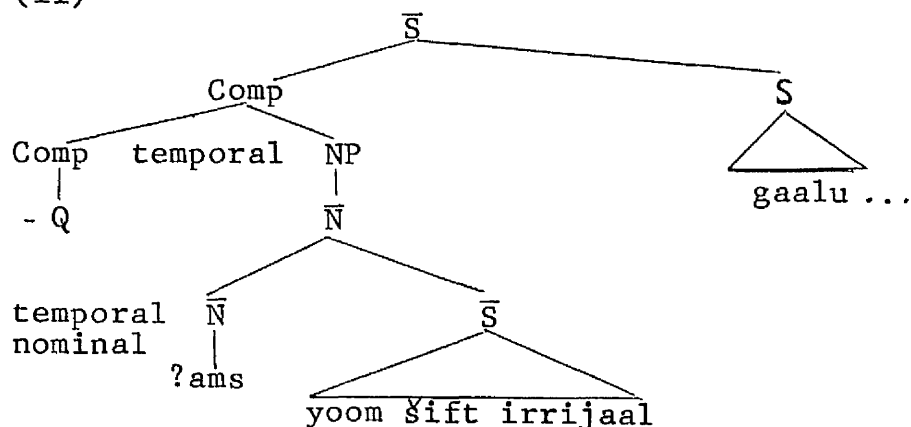
manner that a relative clause restricts its head. This may be illustrated by the following complex sentence and its S-structure of the temporal clause and its head nominal:

(3)

(i) /[/?ams/ yoom šift irrijaal] gaalu ?ahu ɕindiɕ banaat
willa ma ɕindiɕ/

Yesterday, day I saw the men, they said is it that you have daughters or that you do not.

(ii)



As can be seen from S-structure (3)(ii), the temporal NP of this sentence is composed of the temporal nominal /ʔams/ and the temporal clause /yoom šift irrijaal/, forming a complex noun clause. The head of this complex noun clause is /ʔams/ and so it is defined by /yoom šift irrijaal/ in the manner that a relative clause defines

its head noun. It is in this respect that the temporal NP as a whole acquires the syntactic feature [+definite] and this also indicates that /?ams/ is also associated with the syntactic feature [+definite]. Therefore, /?ams/ is associated with the above syntactic feature whether it is generated in A-positions in S node or in the Comp. A-position.

Sentence (3)(i) is also of special value to us as it demonstrates that the rule of (TL), which moves the temporal NP from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node, subsumes to the Subjacency Constraint as well as the A/A Condition.³ This is demonstrated by the following sentences; only the first of which is well-formed because it subsumes to the A/A Condition and the Subjacency Constraint.

(4)

- (i) /gaalu [?ams/ yoom řift irrijaal] ?ahu řindiç banaat
willa ma řindiç/

³The A/A Condition may be defined as "No constituent of a category A can be moved out of a larger containing constituent of category A." (A. Radford, 1982:249). The Subjacency Constraint may be defined as "No constituent can move across more than one bounding node in a single rule application (bounding nodes are S or NP, and perhaps also \bar{S})" (A. Radford, 1982:249).

They said yesterday day I saw the men, is it that you have daughters or that you have not.

- (ii) /*yoom šift irrijaal/ gaalu ?ams ?ahu řindiç
banaat willa ma řindiç/
- (iii) /*?ams gaalu yoom šift irrijaal/ ?ahu řindiç
banaat willa ma řindiç/
- (iv) /*[gaalu ^{S(1)} ?ahu řindiç ^{S(2)} banaat willa ma řindiç ?ams]
yoom šift irrijaal/
- (v) /*[yoom šift irrijaal] [gaalu ^{S(1)} ?ahu řindiç ^{S(2)} banaat
willa ma řindiç banaat ?ams]/

Sentences (4)(ii) and (iii) are ill-formed because they violate the A/A Condition; that is, /?ams/ is moved by itself in (4)(ii) and /yoom šift irrijaal/ is moved by itself in (4)(iii). Sentences (4)(iv) and (v) are ill-formed because they violate the Subjacency Constraint ie in both these sentences the temporal has been moved across two bounding nodes ie $\bar{S}(1)$ and $\bar{S}(2)$. Sentence (4)(v) is also ill-formed because it violates the A/A condition ie moving /?ams/ separately from /yoom šift irrijaal/. Therefore, the movement rule of (TL), which moves the temporal from Comp. down to an adjunct position in S node, subsumes to the A/A Condition and the Subjacency Constraint and the moved NP leaves a trace

behind in its extraction site in the manner shown earlier.

As with the nominal sentences, /?ams/ in a verbal sentence may also be generated as the topic NP, in which case it binds the NP governed by a preposition. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(5)

(i) /?ams/ --> ragadna fih/

Yesterday, we slept in it (masc. sing)

(ii) /?ams/ --> ?ištaʔalu fih/

(ii) /?ams/ --> ?ištaʔalu fih/ in it (masc. sing).

In its capacity to be generated as the topic NP, /?ams/ is similar to the temporal nominals that have a definite article as part of their lexical composition such as /halhiin/, /ilyoom/, /issubih/ etc; therefore /?ams/ displays a similar syntactic behaviour to the above mentioned temporal nominals even though it does not have a definite article as part of its lexical composition.

2.4.1.3.2: /baaʕir/ "Tomorrow"

As with /?ams/, /baaʕir/ may be generated in some of the A-positions in S node, in which case it is entity denoting. It may be generated as the NP subject of a

nominal sentence and this is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) /ilyoom/wi/baaçir/?azyar min ?ams/

Today and tomorrow are better than yesterday.

(ii) /baaçir/?akθar xeer/

Tomorrow is more bountiful.

Despite the fact that /baaçir/ does not have a definite article as part of its lexical composition, yet it forms a coordinate structure with /ilyoom/ in sentence (1)(i) and both temporal nominals together constitute the NP subject of this nominal sentence. This demonstrates that /baaçir/ is similar to /?ams/ in that it is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] even though it does not have a definite article as part of its lexical composition. And as it is associated with the syntactic feature of definiteness, it may be generated by itself as the NP subject of a D.A.D. nominal sentence. This is demonstrated by sentence (1)(ii).

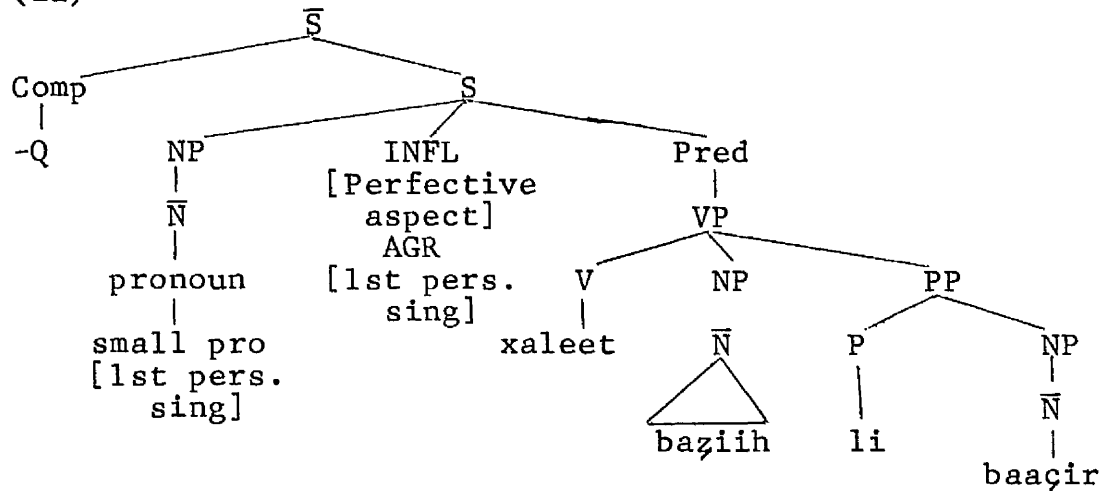
/baaçir/ is also similar to /?ams/ in that it may be generated as the complement of a preposition. This is illustrated by the following sentence and its S-structure:

(2)

(i) /xaleet baḏiḥ libaaḑir/

I kept its leftovers for tomorrow.

(ii)



As /baaḑir/ is already associated with the syntactic feature [+definite], it does not require the prior introduction of a definite article when it is introduced by a preposition. Its syntactic behaviour in this respect is similar to /ʔams/ and differs from nouns in D.A.D. syntax. This demonstrates another difference between the temporal nominal and the noun even though they both share the fact that they may be generated as the complements of a preposition.

/baaḑir/ is also similar to the /issubih/ group of temporal nominals in that it may be generated as the NP

subject of a temporal clause that is introduced by a temporal particle. This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /ila jah baaqir/ hafalna/

When tomorrow came, we celebrated.

(ii) /ila jah baaqir/ taṣaṣeena ṣaṣan ṣaad/

When tomorrow came, we had another supper.

The clause /ila jah baaqir/ is a temporal clause that is introduced by the temporal particle /ila/. Temporal clauses, as we have seen, are verbal clauses. In this temporal clause the NP subject is the temporal nominal /baaqir/ and it is obligatorily moved from preverbal position to postverbal position. The temporal clause as a whole functions as a temporal in relation to the matrix clause, setting it in a future time perspective. As for the temporal nominal itself ie /baaqir/, it is entity denoting because it is generated as the NP subject in this verbal clause which is a temporal clause.

2.4.1.3.2.1: /baaḩir/ generated in the Comp. of the

D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The following sentences demonstrate that /baaḩir/ may be generated as the temporal NP of the nominal sentence in D.A.D.:

(1)

(i) /baaḩir/ --> ḩindina naas/

Tomorrow, we have people (ie guests)

(ii) /baaḩir/ --> fih ḩirs/

Tomorrow, there is a wedding.

(iii) /baaḩir/ --> ?ummi ṣaadin binti/

Tomorrow, my mother is taking care of my daughter.

(iv) /baaḩir/ --> ilmuyyah waajid/

Tomorrow, the water is plentiful.

Being generated as a temporal NP, /baaḩir/ exercises time government on the nominal S node it introduces; setting the above sentences in the perspective of the future time.

/baaḩir/ generated as the temporal NP subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(i) /ḩindina naasin/ baaḩir/

We have people ie guests, tomorrow.

(ii) /fih ʕirsin/ baaʕir/

There is a wedding, tomorrow.

(iii) /ʔummi ʕaaditin binti/ baaʕir/

My mother is taking care of my daugther, tomorrow.

(iv) /ilmuyyah waajid/ baaʕir/

The water is much, tomorrow.

Whether the temporal NP is moved from Comp. or not, it holds a relation with all of S node, exercising time government on that S node. Such is the case in sentences (1) and (2) as regards the temporal nominal /baaʕir/.

This temporal nominal may also be generated as the topic NP, in which case it binds the NP subject. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /baaʕir/ --> fahuw harr/

Tomorrow (masc. sing), it (masc. sing) is hot.

(ii) /baaʕir/ --> fahuw harr marrah/

Tomorrow (masc. sing), it (masc. sing) is very hot

(iii) /baaʕir/ --> mahuub harr/

Tomorrow (masc. sing.), it (masc. sing) is not hot.

And as the topic NP binds an NP in S node, it cannot be moved from Comp. This also differentiates it from the temporal NP.

2.4.1.3.2.2: /baaḩir/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

The temporal nominal /baaḩir/ may also be generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence. In such a case the verb of the verbal S node must be imperfective, and not perfective. This demonstrates the control exercised by the temporal NP on the S node it introduces ie it not only exercises time government on that S node but also controls the verb form that is generated in that S node. This is illustrated by the following sentences, in which /baaḩir/ is generated as the temporal NP:

(1)

(i) /baaḩir/ --> niruuh lihaayil/

Tomorrow, we are going to Haayil.

(ii) /baaḩir/ --> tiruuh libeetha/

Tomorrow, she is going to her house.

(iii) /baaḩir/ --> yisalluun/

Tomorrow, they are praying.

(iv) /baaḩir/ --> yiḩharuun/

Tomorrow, they are going out.

As the time reference of the verbal sentence is the net result of the time associated with the verb form and that of the temporal NP, the temporal nominal /baaḡir/ in sentences (1) sets these sentences in the perspective of the future time and the verb form conveys the imperfective aspect.

/baaḡir/ generated as a temporal NP in a verbal sentence also subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(1) /niruuh lihaayil baaḡir/

We are going to Haayil, tomorrow.

(ii) /tiruuh libeetha baaḡir/

She is going to her house, tomorrow.

(iii) /yisalluun baaḡir/

They are praying, tomorrow.

(iv) /yiḡharuun baaḡir/

They are going out tomorrow.

Therefore, the future time in D.A.D. is indicated by the generation of the temporal nominal /baaḡir/ as the temporal NP and it may remain in Comp. or be moved by the rule of (TL).

Futurity may also be indicated in D.A.D. by means of the verbal prefix /bi-/, which is affixed to the imperfective verb form, and not to the perfective verb form. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and S-structure:

(3)

(i) /biyişris çala-laxrah/

He is going to marry the other one ie another wife

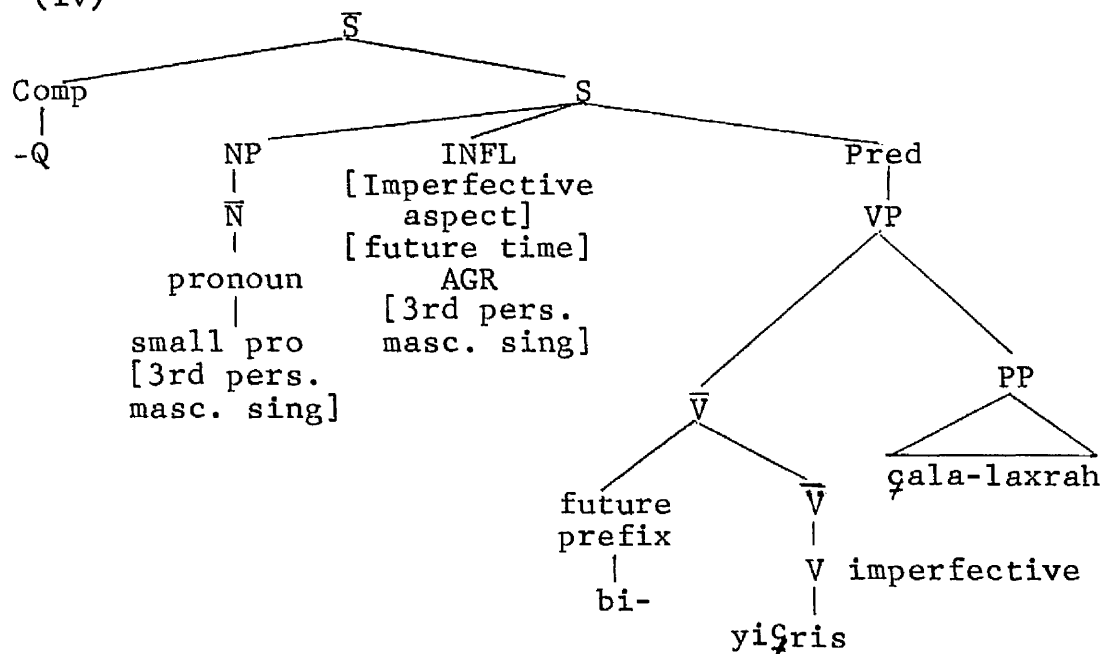
(ii) /biyiruuḥ lihaayil/

He going to go to Haayil.

(iii) /biyijiy liddarçiyah/

He is going to come to Darçiyah.

(iv)



The time reference of the sentences in (3) is indicated by the verb form, which is composed of the imperfective form and the future prefix /bi-/. The /bi-/ prefix indicates futurity and the imperfective verb form conveys the imperfective aspect; therefore, the verb form does indeed play a dominant role in determining the time reference of the verbal sentence.

However, the future perspective conveyed by the prefix /bi-/ is different from that conveyed by the temporal nominal /baaḩir/. This is because /baaḩir/ conveys a neutral future perspective whereas the /bi-/ prefix conveys a future perspective colored with intention on the part of the speaker. Accordingly, verbal sentences whose imperfective verb has the /bi-/ prefix are not introduced by /baaḩir/, generated as the temporal NP.

/baaḩir/ shares with /?ams/, /halhiin/ etc. the fact that it may be generated as the topic NP. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4)

(i) /baaḩir/ --> fahiḩ tirgid fihi

Tomorrow masc. sing), then she is sleeping in it
(masc. sing)

(ii) //baaʕir/ --> fahiy tištaʕal fih/

Tomorrow (masc. sing), then she is working in it
(masc. sing)

As can be seen from sentences (4), /baaʕir/ generated as the topic NP binds an NP in the S node it introduces. This NP is the complement of the preposition /fih/ since /baaʕir/ is a temporal nominal, and not a noun.

2.4.1.3.3: /ʔawwal/ "first"

As with /ʔams/ and /baaʕir/, /ʔawwal/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] even though it does not have a definite article as part of its lexical composition. Consequently, it may be generated as the NP subject of a nominal sentence and this A-position, as shown earlier, requires a definite nominal. The following sentence and its S-structure demonstrate that /ʔawwal/ may be generated as the NP subject:

(1)

(i) //ʔawwal/ ʔazyān min halhiin/

First is better than the present time, ie

The past time is better than the present time.

As /?awwal/ is a temporal nominal, it is generated as the complement of a preposition and it does not have to be preceded by a definite article prior to its introduction by the preposition. This is one of the differences in the syntactic behaviour between a temporal nominal and a noun even though both are nominals and in turn may be governed by a preposition.

S-structure (2)(ii) also demonstrates that /min ?awwal/ is a PP and is not the temporal nominal /min ?awwal/, which was discussed earlier and was shown to be associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]. That /min ?awwal/ in sentence (2)(i) is a PP and not the temporal nominal /min ?awwal/ is also verified by phonological evidence ie in the pronunciation of the PP, there is a sustained juncture after /min/. That is, to distinguish between /min ?awwal/, /min baaçir/ and /min ?ams/ as PPs and /min ?awwal/, /min baaçir/ and /min ?ams/ as temporal nominals, we not only depend on the fact that the latter group is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous] but also on the fact that the intonation pattern of the former group allows a sustained juncture after /min/.

Apart from being generated in A-positions in S node and being entity denoting, /?awwal/ may also be generated in the Comp. A-position of both the nominal and the verbal sentence as demonstrated in the following discussion.

2.4.1.3.3.1: /?awwal/ generated in the Comp. of the
D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

The temporal nominal /?awwal/ differs from /?ams/ and /baaḡir/ in that when it is generated in the Comp. A-position, it is generated as a temporal NP, and not as a topic NP. That is, generated in the Comp. A-position, /?awwal/ holds a relation with all of S node in the sense of governing its time reference, and not just binding an NP in that S node. This is demonstrated by the following sentences, in which /?awwal/ is generated in the Comp. A-position of nominal sentences:

(1)

(i) //?awwal/ --> innaas ishaah/

First, the people are healthy, ie

In the past, people were healthy.

(ii) //?awwal/ --> inti bizir/

First, you (fem. sing) are a child ie

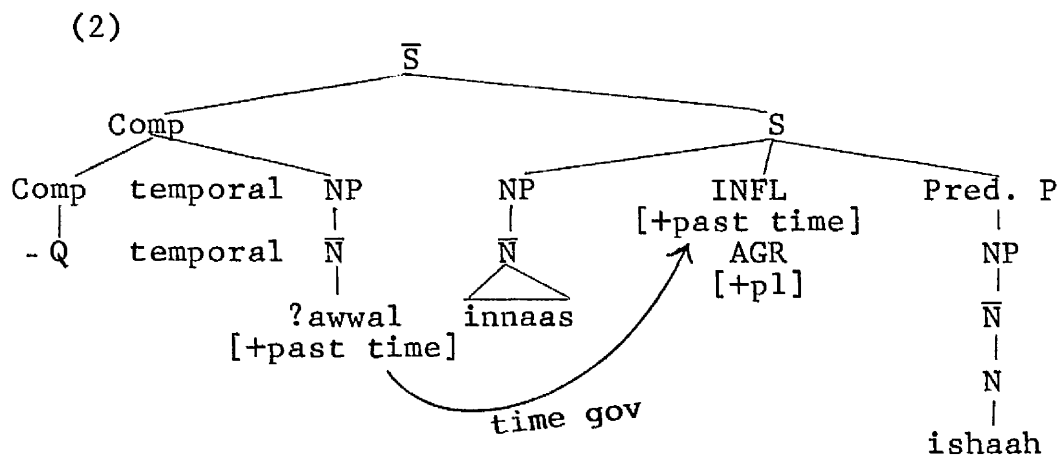
In the past, you were a child.

(iii) //?awwal/ --> mahiyh hurmah/

First, she is not a woman, ie

In the past she was not a woman.

That /ʔawwal/ sets the nominal S node it introduces in the perspective of the past time is demonstrated by the following S-structure of (1)(i):



As with /ʔams/ and /baaʕir/, /ʔawwal/ subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /innaas ishaah /?awwal//

People were healthy, in the past.

(ii) /inti bizir/ ?awwal/

You (fem. sing) were a child, in the past.

(iii) /mahiyb hurmatin/?awwal//

She was not a woman, in the past.

2.4.1.3.3.2: /ʔawwal/ generated in the Comp. of the

D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

Generated in the Comp. of the D.A.D. verbal sentence, /ʔawwal/ requires the verb of the verbal S node it introduces to be imperfective, and not perfective. This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(1)

(i) //ʔawwal/ --> innaas yakluun/

First, the people are eating ie

In the past, people used to eat well.

(ii) //ʔawwal/ --> innaas yimʂuun/

First, the people were walking ie

In the past, people used to walk a lot.

(iii) //ʔawwal/ --> irraja*j*iil yihattibuun/

First, the men were ploughing in the field ie

In the past, men used to plough in the field.

Again, as the time reference of the verbal sentence is the net result of the verb form and the temporal, the past time perspective is provided by /ʔawwal/ while the imperfective aspect is provided by the imperfective verb.

/ʔawwal/ in the verbal sentence also subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(2)

(i) /innaas yakluun /ʔawwal/

People used eat well, in the past.

(ii) /innaas yimšuun /ʔawwal/

People used to walk, in the past.

(iii) /irrajajiil yihattibuun /ʔawwal/

Men used to plough, in the past.

As with all the other temporal nominals that subsume to the rule of (TL), /ʔawwal/ is less emphatic when it is moved than when it is in its base generated position.

With /ʔawwal/, we terminate our discussion of the D.A.D. temporal nominals that have invariable forms. In the following chapter, we discuss some of the temporal nominals that have variable forms.

2.4.2: Temporal Nominals with Variable Forms

The temporal nominals with variable forms that are to be discussed are:

(1)

(i) /gubl + {pronominal suffix} / "before"
 {definite noun}

- (ii) /ʒugb + {pronominal suffix
definite noun} / "after"
- (iii) /taww + {pronominal suffix
definite noun} / "Recently"

The temporal nominals /gubl + pronominal suffix/ and /ʒugb + pronominal suffix/ are associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes, which are characterized by the form /-i/ for the first person and singular pronominal. And as the nominal set of pronominal suffixes function as the local determiners for the generation of a possessive small pro; these temporal nominals are regarded as inflecting for possession. It is in this respect that they are associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] ie as they inflect for possession, they have the internal structure of a nominal construct, which is always associated with definiteness. Furthermore, /gubl/ and /ʒugb/ may also form a nominal construct with a definite noun. The fact which provides further evidence that those temporal nominals are associated with the syntactic feature [+ definite]. And finally, it is the fact that both /gubl/ and /ʒugb/ only inflect for possession and not for definiteness, indefiniteness and number that indicates that they are not nouns and demonstrates a fossilization of structure that

is characteristic of the temporal nominal in D.A.D. syntax.

As for the temporal nominal /taww-/, it is also associated with the syntactic feature [+definite] even though it differs from the former two temporal nominals in that it does not inflect for possession. That is, despite the fact that /taww-/ is not associated with the nominal set of pronominals (which locally determine a possessive small pro), yet it is nevertheless associated with pronominal suffixes, which endow it with this syntactic feature. These pronominal suffixes with which /taww-/ is associated are identical in form with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, which are characterized by the /-ni/ form for first person and singular pronominal. But they differ in function from the verbal set because the verbal set of pronominal suffixes function as the local determiners for a complement small pro whereas this set of pronominal suffixes functions as the local determiner for a subject small pro of the D.A.D. nominal sentence. It is in this respect that /taww-/ is not regarded as a verbal since it is not associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffix nor does it inflect for perfectivity and imperfectivity, as D.A.D. verbs do.

Furthermore, as /taww-/ is associated with the syntactic feature [+definiteness] and is generated in the Comp. A-position exercising time government on the nominal S node it introduces, it is in this respect that it is regarded as a temporal nominal, especially as it is similar to the temporal nominals /gubl-/ and /ɕugb-/ in that it is associated with pronominal suffixes when it does not introduce a definite noun. It is nevertheless a different type of temporal nominal from /gubl-/ and /ɕugb-/ since the latter two temporal nominals have more nominal characteristics, such as their capacity to inflect for possession and to be generated not only in the Comp. A-position but also in some of the A-positions in S node. All three temporal nominals, however, share the fact that when they are generated in the Comp. A-position, they are only generated as the temporal NP, and not the topic NP.

2.4.2.1: /gubl + {pronominal suffix/} "before"
{definite noun}

The temporal nominal /gubl + pronominal suffix/ has the following phonetic manifestations.

- (1)
 - (i) /gubli/ "my beforeness"
1
 - (ii) /gubla ha/ "her beforeness"
 - (iii) /gublih/ "his beforeness"
 - (iv) /gublihum/ "their beforeness"
 - (v) /gublina/ "our beforeness"
 - (vi) /gubiç/ "your (fem. sing) beforeness"
 - (vii) /gublik/ "your (masc. sing) beforeness"
 - (viii) /gublikum/ "youŕ(pl) beforeness"

The lexical item /gubl/ is regarded as a nominal in D.A.D. syntax because it is associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes, and not the verbal set of pronominal suffixes. It is in this respect that it is not a preposition because prepositions in D.A.D. are associated with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes. And as /gubl/ simply inflects for possession but not for

¹When the vowel of the suffix is [+high], the epenthetic vowel is [+high] and vice versa (ie when [-high], the epenthetic vowel is [-high]). But when the suffix is simply C, instead of CV, the epenthetic vowel has a free variation of [+high] ie we may have /gublih/ and /gublah/ as well as /gublik/ and /gublak/.

definiteness, indefiniteness and number, it exemplifies^{f_i} a fossilization of structure, according to which it is regarded as a temporal nominal. This temporal nominal whether it inflects for possession or holds a possessive relation with a definite noun may be generated as the NP subject or the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence. The following sentences and their S-structures illustrate its generation as the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence:

(2)

(i) //gubl iššita/¹ issiif/

The beforeness of winter is summer

(ii) /iššita --> gublih/ issif/

The winter, its (masc. sing) beforeness is summer.

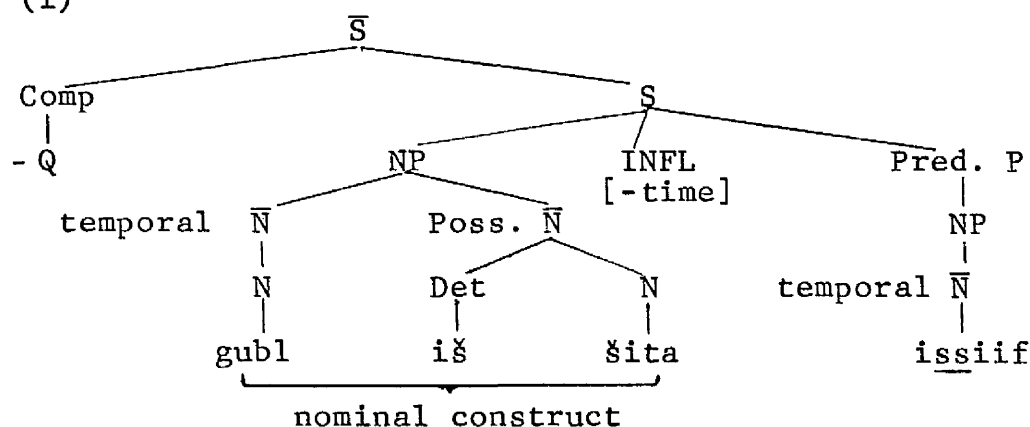
(iii) /ilbint --> gublaha/ ilwalad/

The girl, her beforeness is the boy.

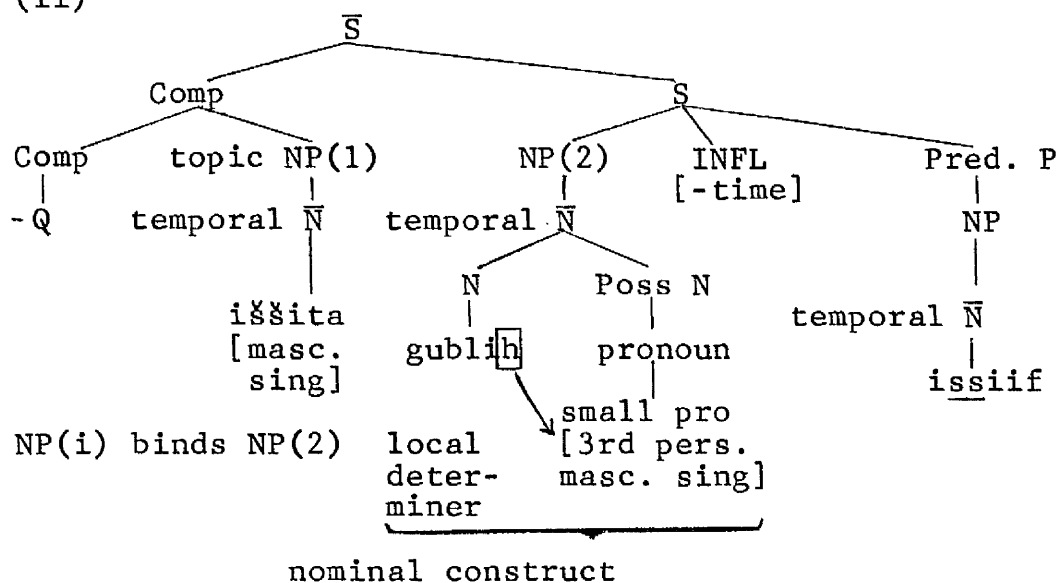
¹Both /iššita/ and /issiif/ are also temporal nominals because they have definite articles that are part of their lexical composition eg */šita/, */siif/ are unacceptable in the lexicon of D.A.D.

(3)

(i)



(ii)



The following sentences and their S-structures demonstrate that /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ may also be generated as the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence:

(4)

(i) /issiif gublih/

Summer is its (masc. sing) beforeness.

(ii) /huw gublah/

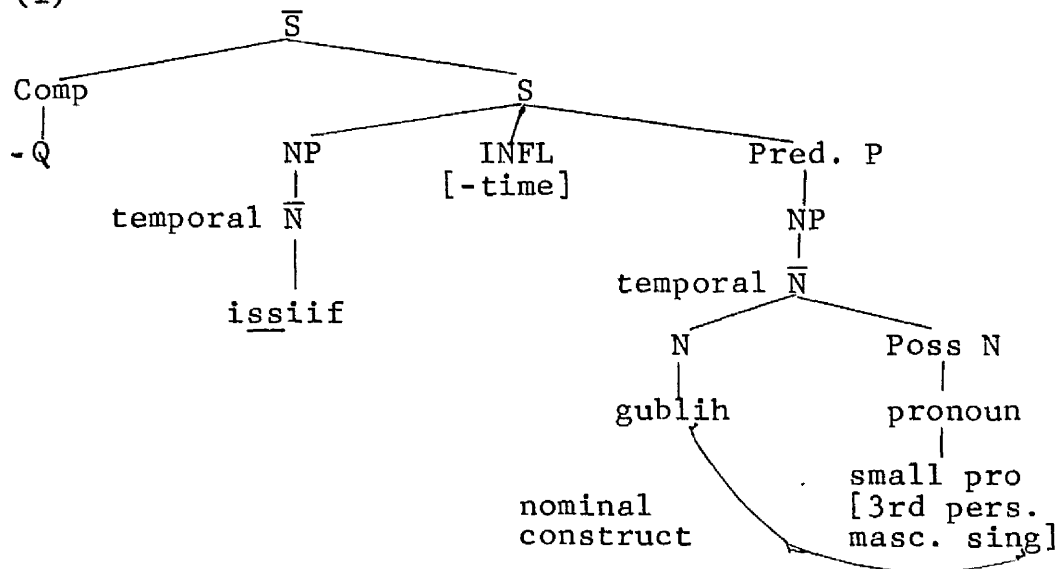
He is her beforeness.

(iii) /ilbint gubl ilwalad/

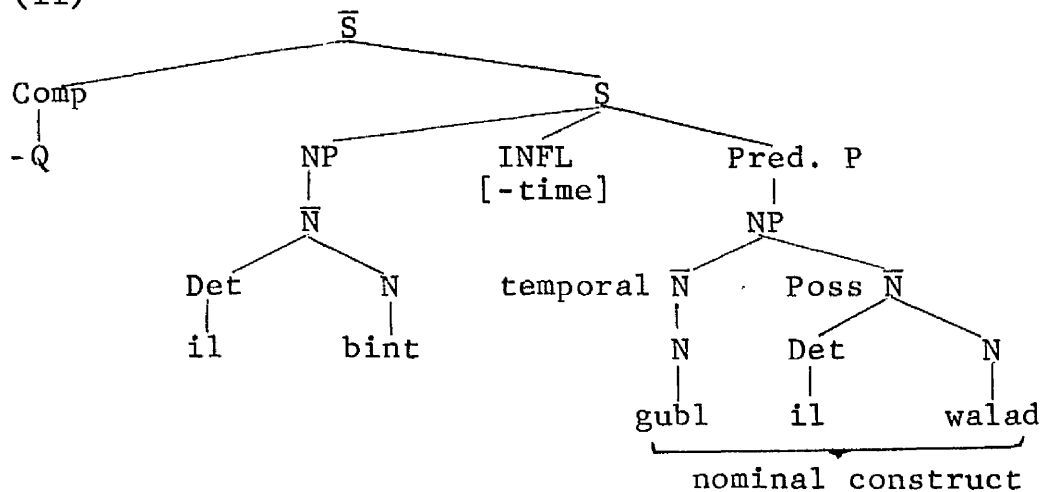
The girl is the beforeness of the boy.

(5)

(i)



(ii)



As can be seen from the above sentences and S-structures, /gubl/ whether inflecting for possession or holding a possessive relation with a definite noun may be generated as the NP subject as well as the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence. In either case, its NP has the internal structure of a nominal construct, according to which it is associated with the syntactic feature [+definite].

2.4.2.1.1: /gubl + {pronominal suffix} / generated in the {definite noun}

Comp. of the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence

When /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ is generated as the temporal NP of a nominal sentence, it sets the nominal S node it introduces in the perspective

of the past time. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1)

(i) //gubli/ --> huw maxđin 0ala0 hariim/

My beforeness, he taken three women ie

He married three women before he married me.

(ii) //gublihum/ --> ɟindaha banaat/

Their beforeness, she has daughters ie

She got daughters before them (ie sons).

(iii) //gubliɟ/ --> fih bint/

Your (fem. sing) beforeness, there is a daughter

ie There is a daughter before you.

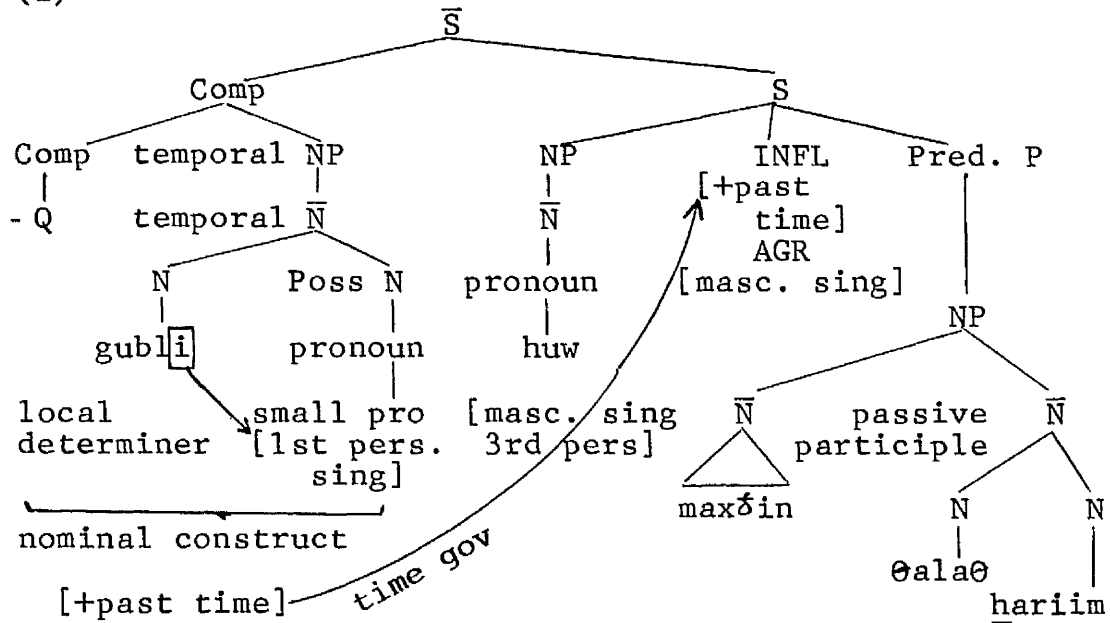
(iv) //gubl ilwalad/ --> huw maxđin 0ala0 banaat/

The beforeness of the boy, he taken three girls ie

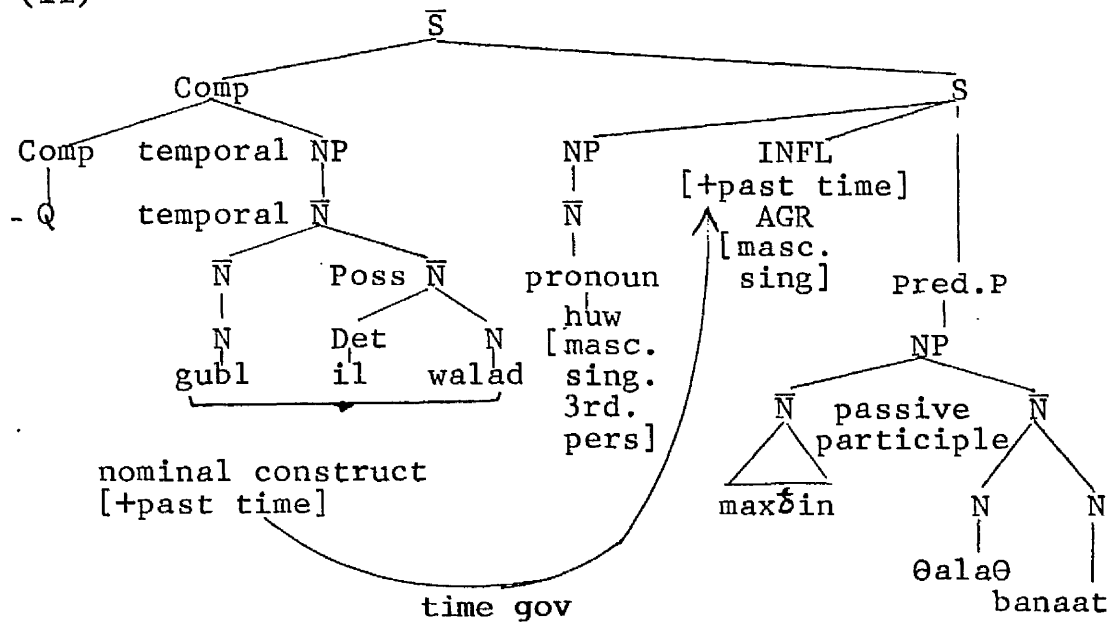
He took three girls before the boy.

(2)

(i)



(ii)



The /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/temporal subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /huw max^δin θalaθ hariim /gubli/

He taken three women before me.

(ii) /çindaha banaat/ gublihum //

She has daughters before them.

(iii) /huw max^δin θalaθ banaat/ gubli walad

He taken three girls before the boy.

2.4.2.1.2: /gubl +{pronominal suffix}/ generated in the
{definite noun}
 Comp. of the D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

When /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ is generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence, it sets that verbal S node in the perspective of the past time. It also requires that S node to have a perfective verb, and not an imperfective verb. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1)

(i) //gublihum/ --> jaabit ?awlaad/

Their beforeness, she got boys ie

She got boys before them.

(ii) //gubli/ --> ga^çadit/

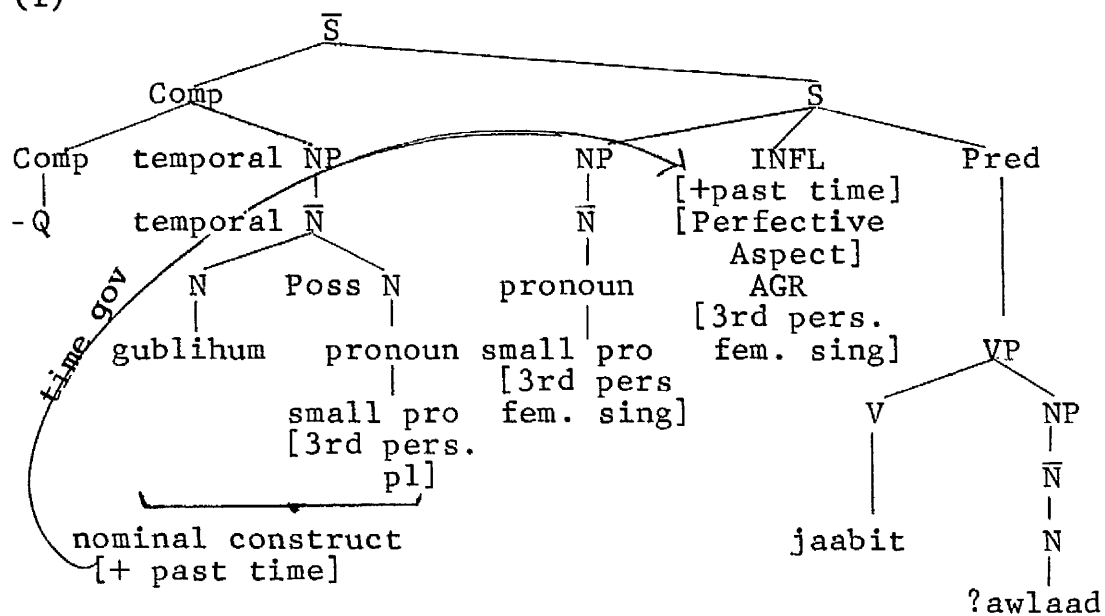
My beforeness, she sat down ie She sat down before me.

(iii) //gublilbanaat/ --> ga^çad/

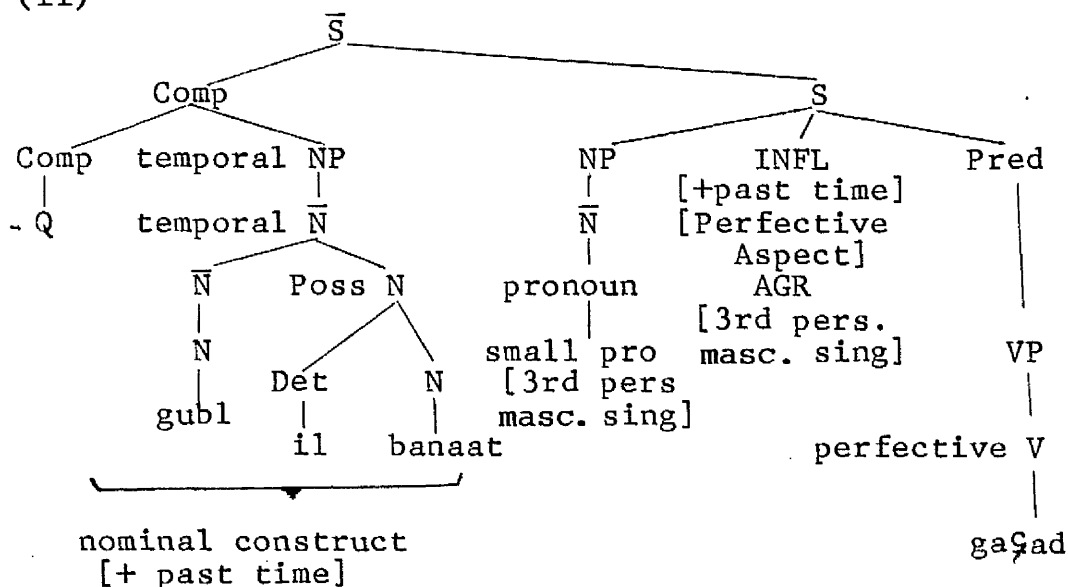
The beforeness of the girls, he sat down ie
He sat down before the girls.

(2)

(i)



(ii)



As can be seen from S-structures (2), the time reference of the D.A.D. verbal sentence is determined by the time associated with the temporal and the verb form; both of which are registered in the head of S node ie INFL. Nevertheless, the temporal NP does exercise time government on the verbal S node it introduces and this is not only demonstrated by the fact that it sets the perfective aspect in the perspective of a past time reference but also by the fact that it requires that S node to have a perfective verb, and not an imperfective verb.

As in the nominal sentence, the temporal NP composed of /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ and

generated in the D.A.D. verbal sentence subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /jaabit ?awlaad gublihum/

She got boys before them.

(ii) /gaʃadit/ gubli //

She sat down before me.

(iii) /gaʃad/ gubl /ilbanaat/

He sat down before the girls.

2.4.2.2: /ʒugb + {pronominal suffix} / "after"
 {definite noun}

The temporal nominal /ʒugb + pronominal suffix/ has the following phonetic manifestations:

(1)

(i) /ɕugbi/ "my afterness"

(ii) /ʒugbaha/ "her afterness"

(iii) /çugbih/ "his afterness"

(iv) /çugbihum/ "their afterness"

(v) /ʒugbikum/ "your (pl) afterness"

(vi) /çugbiç/ "your (fem. sing) afterness"

(vii) /ʒugbik/ "your (masc. sing) afterness"

(viii) /ɟugbina/ "our afterness"

/ʕugb-/ , as shown by (1), is associated with the nominal set of pronominal suffixes according to which it is a nominal, and not a preposition, in D.A.D. syntax. It is similar in this respect with the temporal nominal /gubl/. It is also similar to /gubl-/ in the sense that it may be followed by a definite noun with which it holds a possessive relation and in that it may be generated as the NP subject or the NP predicate of the nominal sentence.

The following sentences and their S-structures demonstrate that /ʕugb + pronominal suffix or a definite noun/ may be generated as the NP subject of the D.A.D. nominal sentence.

(2)

(i) //ʕugbissiif/ iʃʃita/

The afterness of the summer is winter, ie
Winter comes after the summer.

(ii) /issiif --> /ʕugbih/ iʃʃita/

The summer, its afterness is winter.

(iii) /ilwalad --> /ʕugbih/ ilbint/

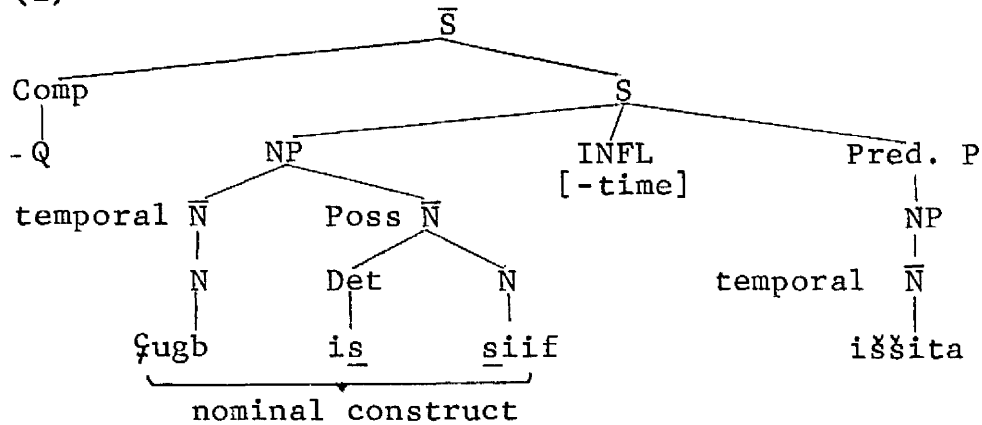
The boy, his afterness is the girl.

(iv) /ilbanaat --> /ʕugbihum/ ilwalad/

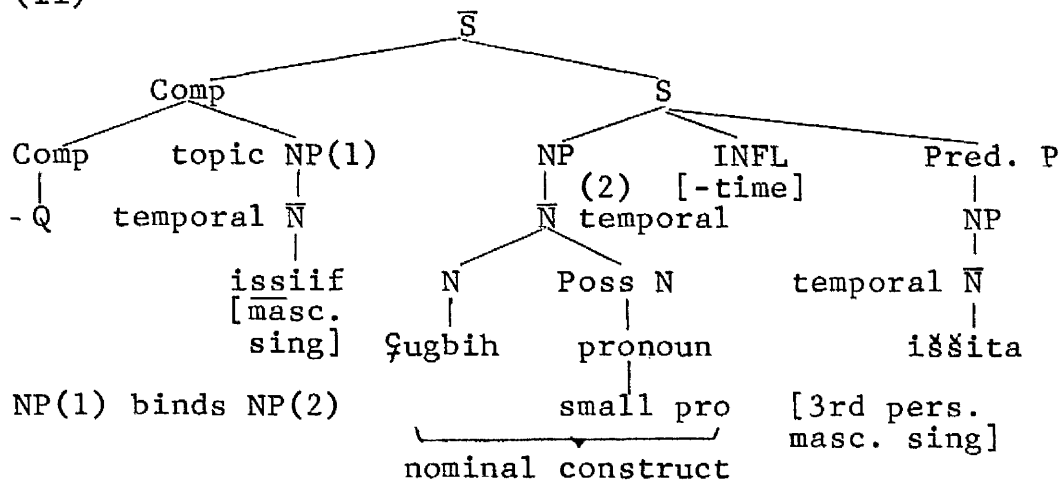
The girls, their afterness is the boy.

(3)

(i)



(ii)



As can be seen from S-structures (3), when /ɟugb/ is followed by a pronominal suffix, it not only locally determines the generation of a possessive small pro but must also have a topic NP with which it is coreferential. /ɟugb + pronominal suffix/ is similar in this

respect to /gubl + pronominal suffix/.¹ On the other hand, when /ʕugb/ is followed by a definite noun, it does not require a topic NP to be coreferential with it. /ʕugb/ is again similar to /gubl/ in this respect. However, whether /ʕugb/ inflects for possession or has a definite noun with which it has a possessive relation, it may be generated as the NP subject and this is demonstrated by sentences (2) and their S-structures in (3).

The following sentences and their S-structures also demonstrate that /ʕugb + pronominal suffix or a definite noun/ may be generated as the NP predicate of the D.A.D. nominal sentence:

(4)

(i) /issiif/ʕugbih/

Summer is its (masc. sing) afterness.

(ii) /issiif/ʕugbiššita/

Summer is the afterness of the winter.

(iii) /ilbint/ʕugbilwalad/

The girl is the afterness of the boy.

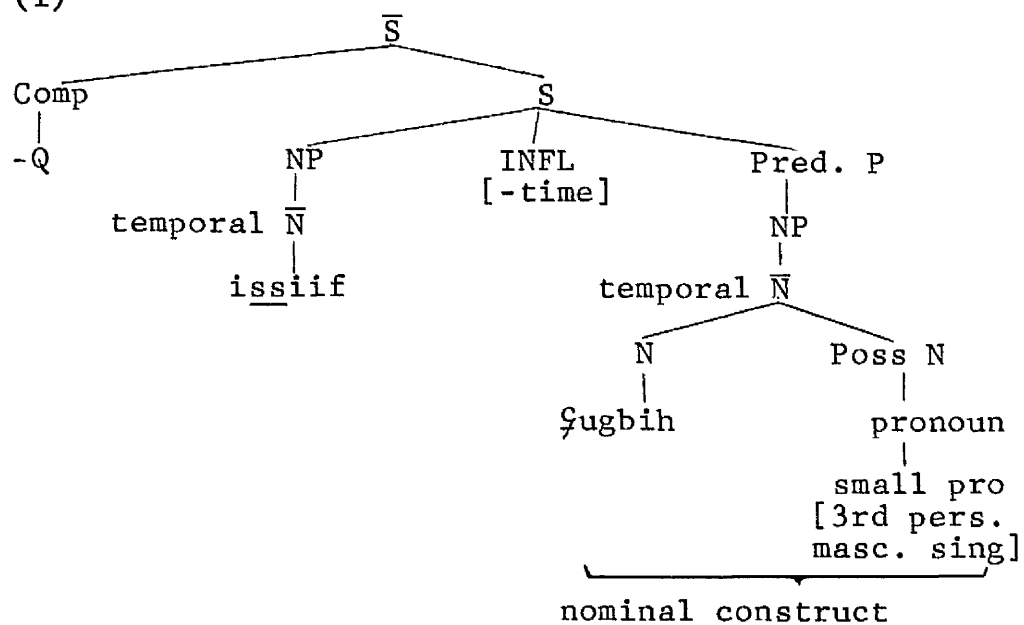
(iv) /ilbint/ʕugbihum/

The girl is their afterness.

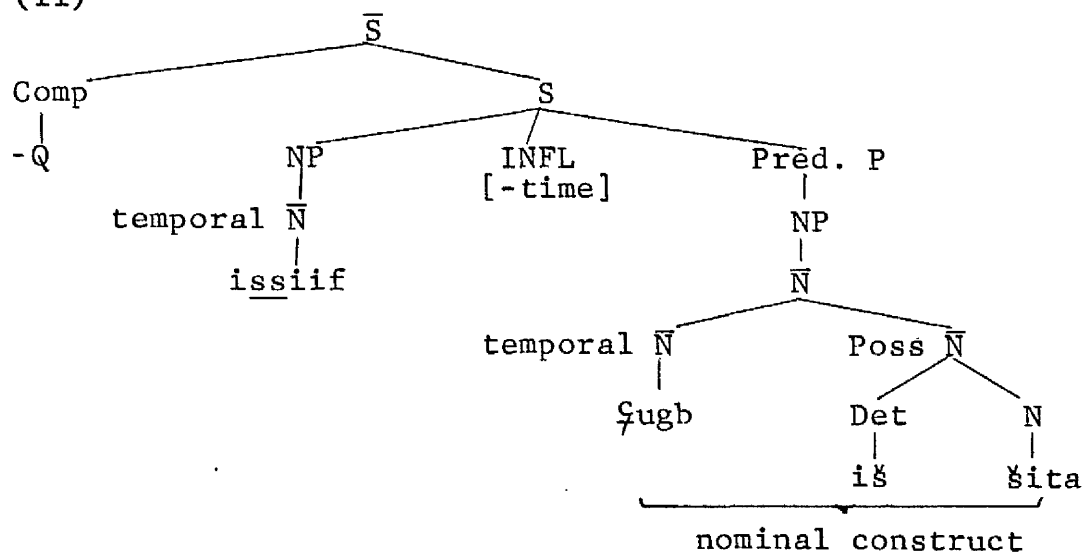
¹See p. 596.

(5)

(i)



(ii)



As with /gubl/, /ɣugb/ is entity denoting when it is generated in the A-positions in S node. Both temporal nominals are also similar in that they either inflect for possession or hold a possessive relation with a definite noun; therefore, they may be described as temporal nominals that inflect for possession, differing from nouns in that they do not inflect for definiteness, indefiniteness or number.

2.4.2.2.1: /ʒugb + {pronominal suffix} / generated in the
{definite noun}

Comp. of the D.A.D. Nominal Sentence:

Generated in the Comp. A-position of a nominal sentence, the temporal / $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{ugb}$ + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ is generated as the temporal NP, and not the topic NP. Accordingly, it sets the nominal S node it introduces in the perspective of a future time. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1)

- (i) //Çugbi/ --> fih banaat/

My afterness, there are girls.

- (ii) // Sugbilwalad --> fih banaat/

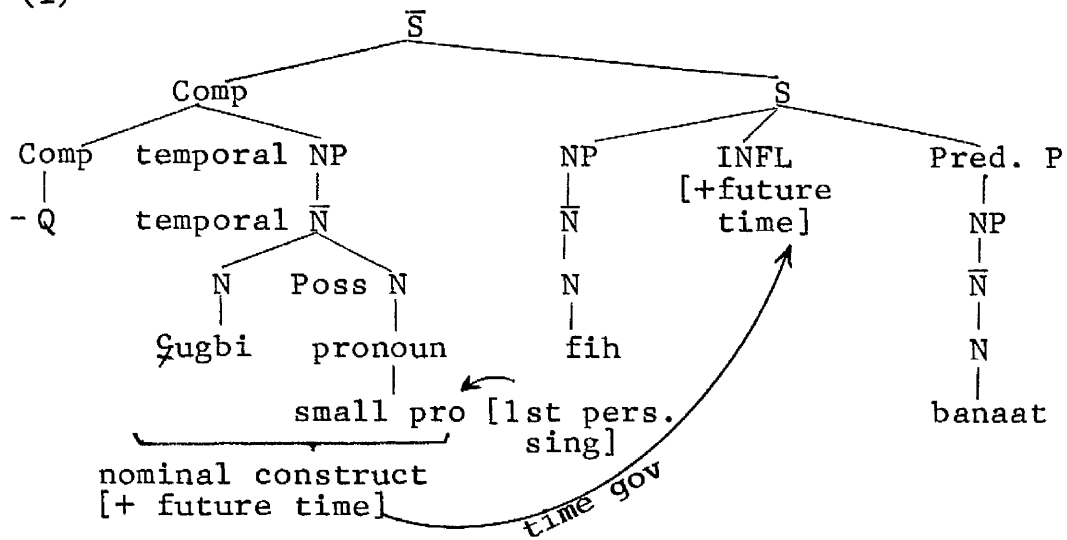
The afterness of the boy, there are girls.

(iii) //ṣugb iṣṣita --> fih harr/

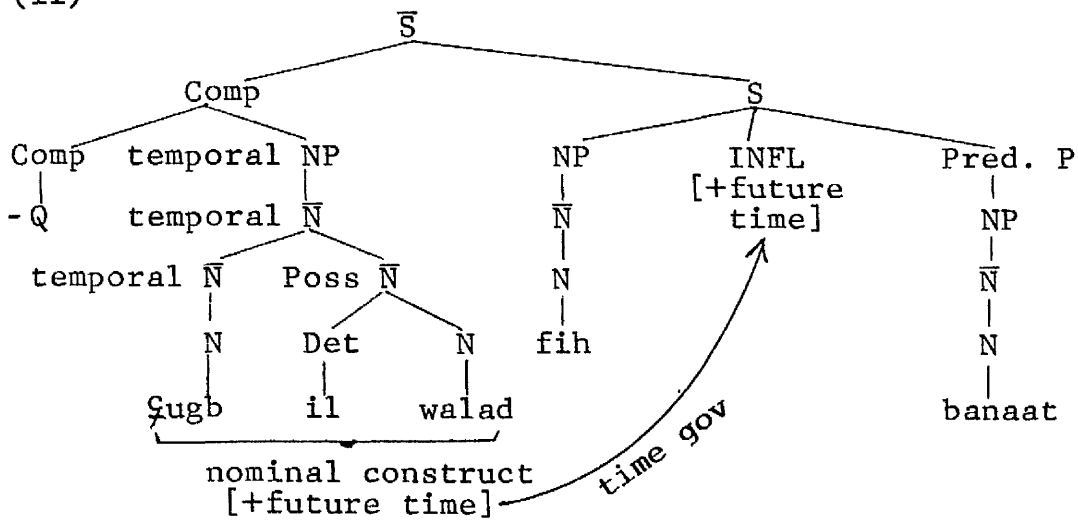
The afterness of the winter, there is heat.

(2)

(i)



(ii)



/ʒugb + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ generated as the temporal NP of a nominal sentence subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is demonstrated by the following sentences:

(3)

(i) /fih banaat/ʒugbi/

There are girls after me.

(ii) /fih banaat/ʒugbilwalad/

There are girls the afterness of the boy.

(iii) /fih harr/ʒugb iʃʃita/

There is heat the afterness of the winter.

2.4.2.2.2: /ʒugb + {pronominal suffix}/ generated in the
Comp. of the D.A.D. Verbal Sentence

The temporal /ʒugb + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ differs from /gubl + pronominal suffix or definite noun/ in that it allows the verbal S node it introduces to have either a perfective verb or an imperfective verb. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(1) With Perfective Verb Forms:

(i) //ʒugbi/ --> jaabit wileed/

My afterness, she got a baby boy.

(ii) //ʒugb/ ilbint --> jaabit wileed/

The afterness of the girl, she got a baby boy.

- (iii) //ṣugbihum/ --> ṣaharit/

Their afterness, she went out.

(2) With Imperfective Verb Forms:

- (i) //Çugbi/ --> la tax^ɕiin ?ahad/

My afterness, don't you (fem. sing) take anyone.

- (ii) /Çugb irrijaal/ --> yišifuun ilbint/

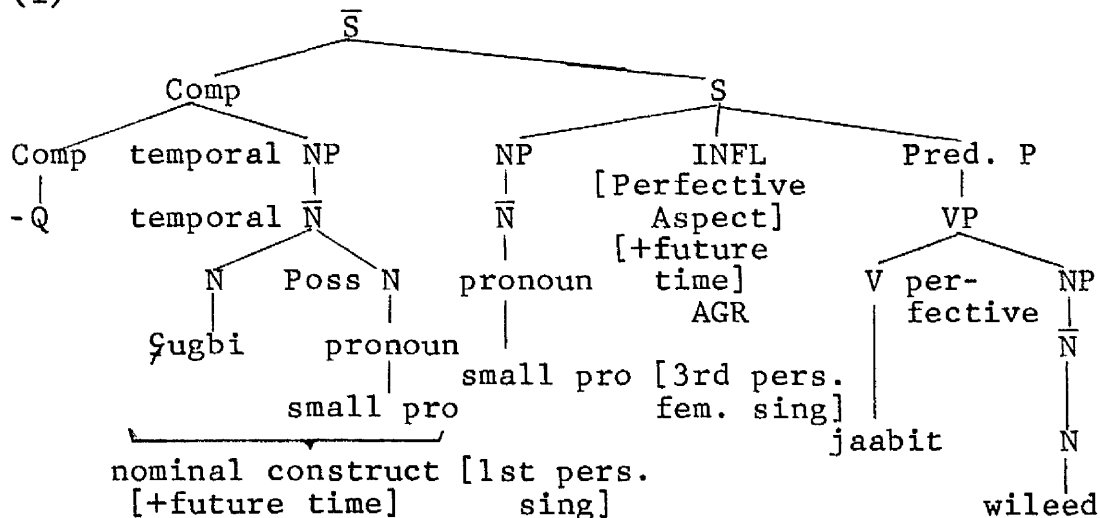
The afterness of the man, they are seeing the girl

- (iii) //ṣugbaha/ --> yišifuun harrijaal/

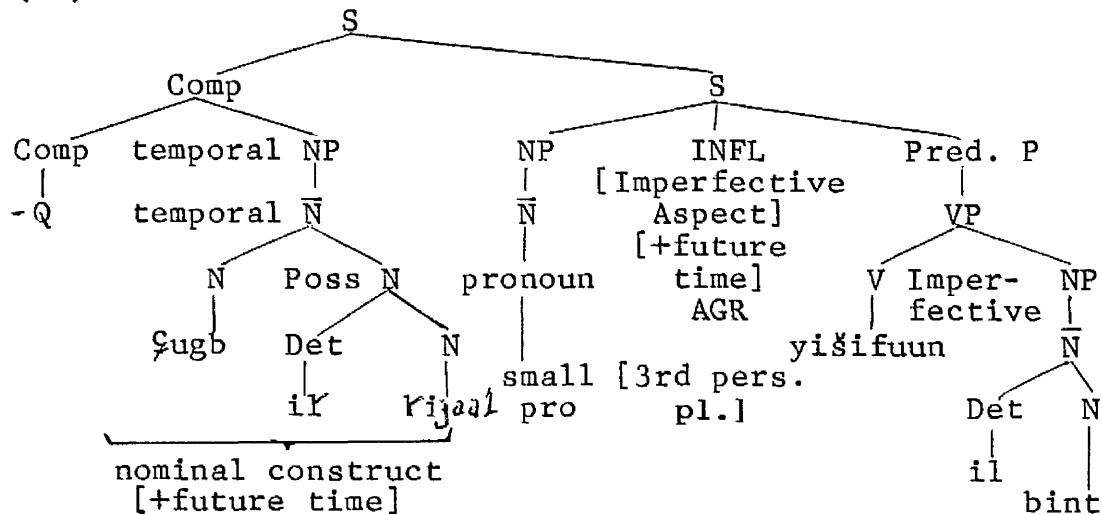
Her afterness, they are seeing this man.

- (3)

- (i)



(ii)



As can be seen from S-structure (3)(i) and (ii), the temporal nominal /ʒugb + pronominal suffix or a definite noun/ may be generated as the temporal NP of verbal sentences with perfective or imperfective verbs. These S-structures also show that this temporal nominal is associated with the future time reference, which is accordingly registered in the INFL of the S node it introduces. And as the time reference of the verbal sentence is the net result of the time associated with the temporal and the verb form, the time reference of S-structure (3)(ii) is a future progressive action because its temporal is associated with the syntactic feature [+future] and its verb conveys the imperfective aspect.

As for S-structure (3)(i), its INFL has the syntactic feature [+future] and the perfective aspect. The former is due to the time reference of the temporal and the latter is due to the verb form ie the perfective verb. Together they make the time reference of this sentence to be a completed action that has taken place after the time referred to by the temporal; therefore, it combines both the syntactic feature [+future] and the perfective aspect; each of which partly determines the time reference of this sentence.

As with /gubl + pronominal suffix or a definite noun/, /ɣugb + pronominal suffix or a definite noun/ generated as the temporal NP of a verbal sentence also subsumes to the rule of (TL). This is illustrated by the following sentences:

(4) With Perfective Verb Forms:

(i) /jaabit wileed /ɣugbi/

She got a baby boy after me ie "my afterness"

(ii) /jaabit wileed /ɣugbi ilbint/

She got a baby boy after the girl.

"The afterness of the girl"

(iii) /ɣaharīt /ɣugbihum/

She went out after them ie "their afterness"

Despite the identity of the form of these pronominal suffixes with the verbal set of pronominal suffixes, yet they differ in function from the verbal set of pronominal suffixes because they locally determine the generation of a subject small pro whereas the verbal set of pronominal suffixes locally determine the generation of a complement small pro. The following sentences and their S-structures demonstrate that the pronominal suffixes carried by /taww-/ locally determine the generation of a subject small pro for the D.A.D. nominal sentence:

(2)

- (i) //tawwini/ --> jaayibtin wileed/

Recently, I am bringing a baby boy ie
I've just brought a baby boy.

- (ii) //tawwaha/ --> jaayibtin wileed/

Recently, she is bringing a baby boy.

- (iii) //tawwiq/ --> jaayibtin wileed/

Recently, you (fem. sing) are bringing a baby boy.

- (iv) //tawwihum/ --> jaayibiin naas/

Recently, they are bringing people ie guests.

- (v) //tawwina/ --> jaayiin/

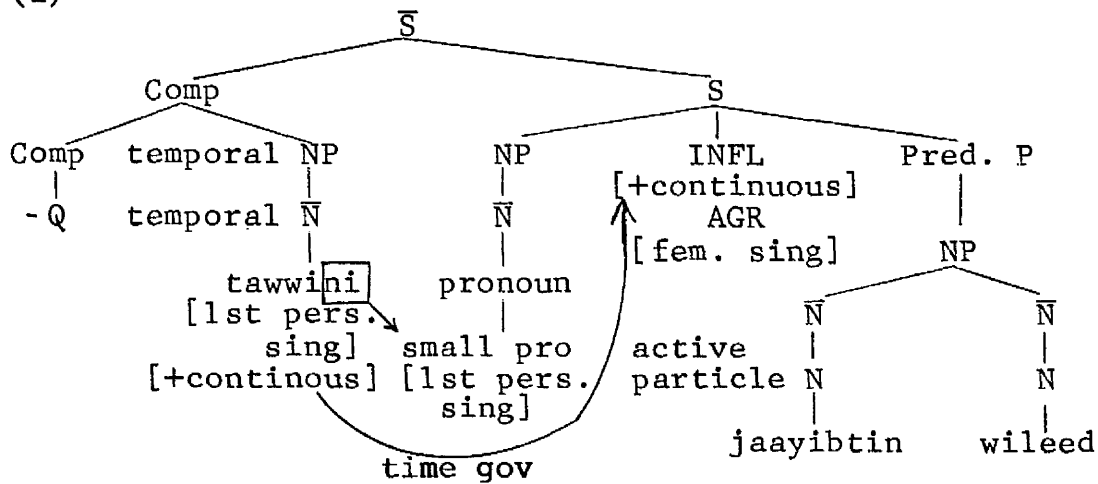
Recently, we have come.

(vi) //tawwaha/ --> bizir/

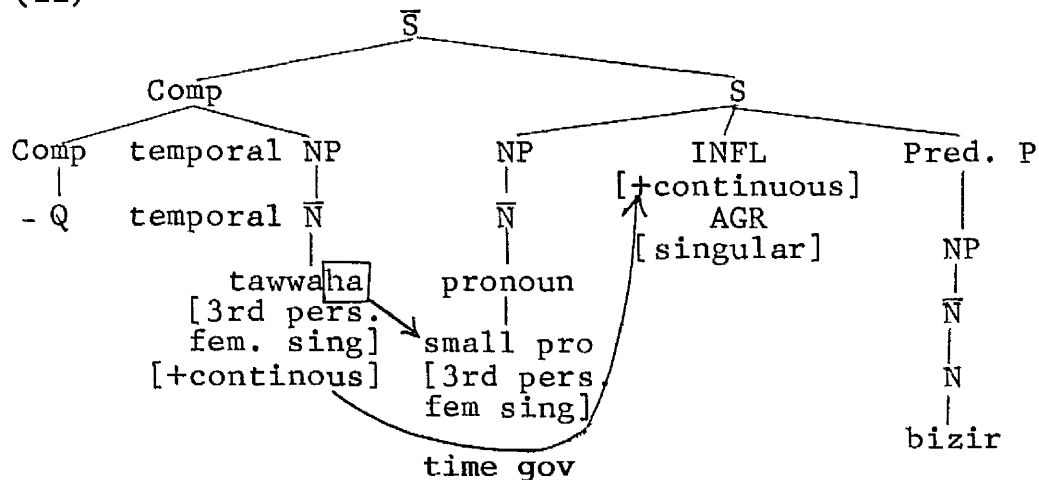
Recently, she is a child ie She is just a child.

(3)

(i)



(ii)



S-structures (3)(i) and (ii) demonstrate that the pronominal suffix carried by /taww-/ locally determines the generation of a subject small pro in the nominal S

node it introduces. It differs in this respect from the pronominal suffixes carried by /gubl/ and /ɣugb/ since these pronominal suffixes locally determine the generation of a possessive small pro. The pronominal suffix carried by /taww-/ provides the subject small pro generated in the D.A.D. nominal sentence with the required local determiner for its generation since AGR of the nominal sentence, as shown earlier, is not a proper governor and so it cannot locally determine the generation of a subject small pro. Therefore, the D.A.D. nominal sentence may have a subject small pro only if that small pro is locally determined by an element in Comp; one of which is the temporal nominal /taww + pronominal suffix/.

These S-structures also demonstrate that /taww + pronominal suffix/ introduces a nominal S node, and not a verbal S node. That is, this temporal nominal , as also verified by sentence (2), is generated as the temporal NP of nominal sentences, and not of verbal sentences. This points to the fact that /taww + pronominal suffix/ not only controls the time reference of the S node it introduces but also the type of S node it introduces. It requires that S node to be a nominal clause

and sets that nominal clause in a time perspective that is associated with the syntactic feature [+continuous]. This requirement on the part of /taww + pronominal suffix/ to have the S node it introduces to be a nominal clause distinguishes it from all the other temporal nominals afore discussed since it is unique in this respect.

Despite this uniqueness of /taww-/, it has been classified with /gubl/ and /ɣugb/ since all three represent temporal nominals that have variable forms that introduce pronominal suffixes and that may also introduce a definite noun. But /taww-/, as we have seen, nevertheless differs from both /gubl/ and /ɣugb/ in that the pronominal suffix it carries functions as the local determiner for a subject small pro and in that even the definite noun it introduces functions as the subject of the nominal S node it introduces. The latter difference is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures, in which the definite noun it introduces is the NP subject of the nominal S node.

(4)

(i) /taww-/ innaas jaayiin/

Recently, the people have come ie

The people have just come.

(ii) //taww-/ ilbint bizir/

Recently, the girl is a child ie

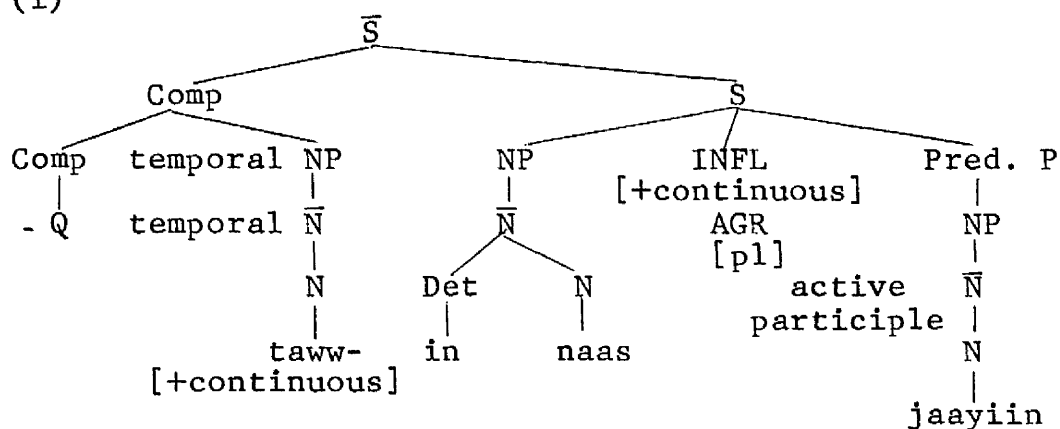
The girl is just a child.

(iii) //taww/--> ilhurmah jaayibtin willed/

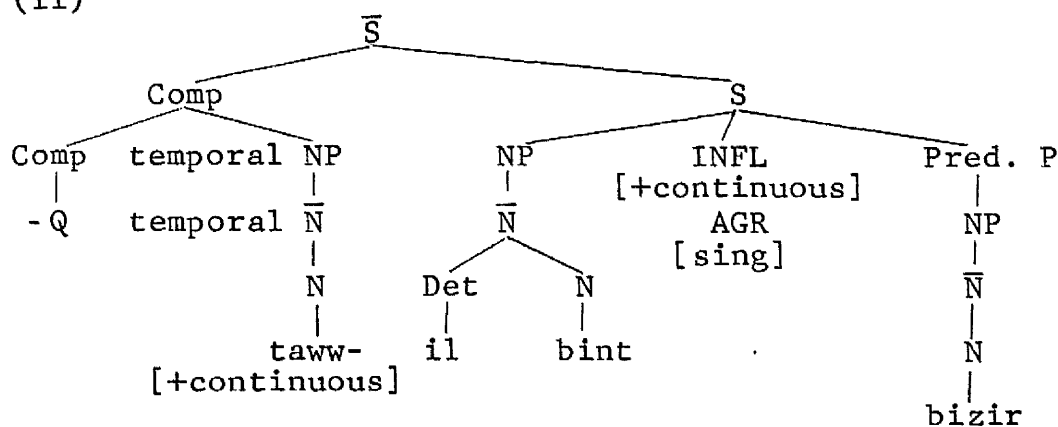
Recently, the woman has brought a baby boy.

(5)

(i)



(ii)



Therefore, despite the fact that /taww-/ is similar to /gubl-/ and /ʒugb-/ in being a temporal nominal with a variable form and introducing a definite noun, yet it differs from these temporal nominals in that its pronominal suffixes do not locally determine the generation of a possessive small pro nor does the definite noun it introduces hold a possessive relation to it.

Apart from the crucial difference between /taww-/ and all the other temporal nominals above discussed as regards requiring the S node it introduces to be a nominal clause, /taww-/ also differs from the other temporal nominals in its application of the rule of (TL). That is, /taww-/ does subsume to the rule of (TL) but its application of this rule is different from the other temporal nominals above discussed. This is demonstrated by the following sentences and their S-structures:

(6)

(i) /ilhurmah /tawwaha/ --> jaayibtin wileed/

The woman recently she has brought a baby boy.

(ii) /innaas /tawwihum/ --> jaayiin/

The people recently they have come.

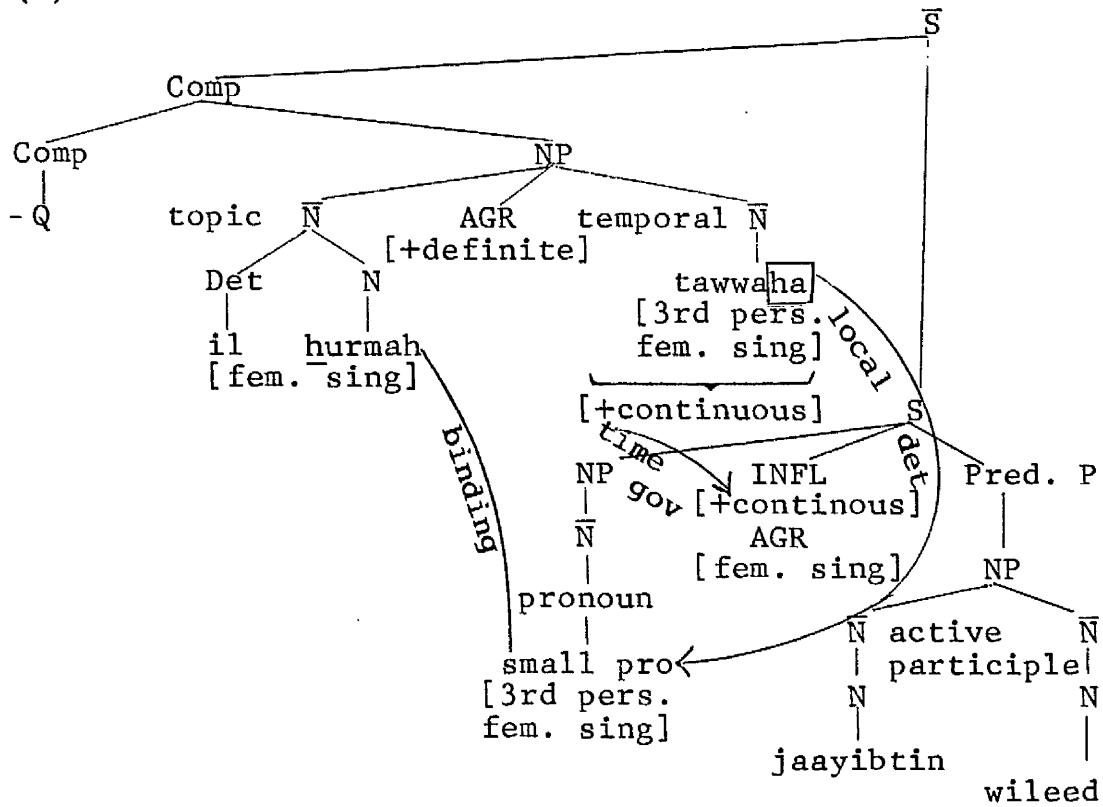
(iii) /ilbint /tawwaha/ --> bizir/

The girl recently she is a child ie

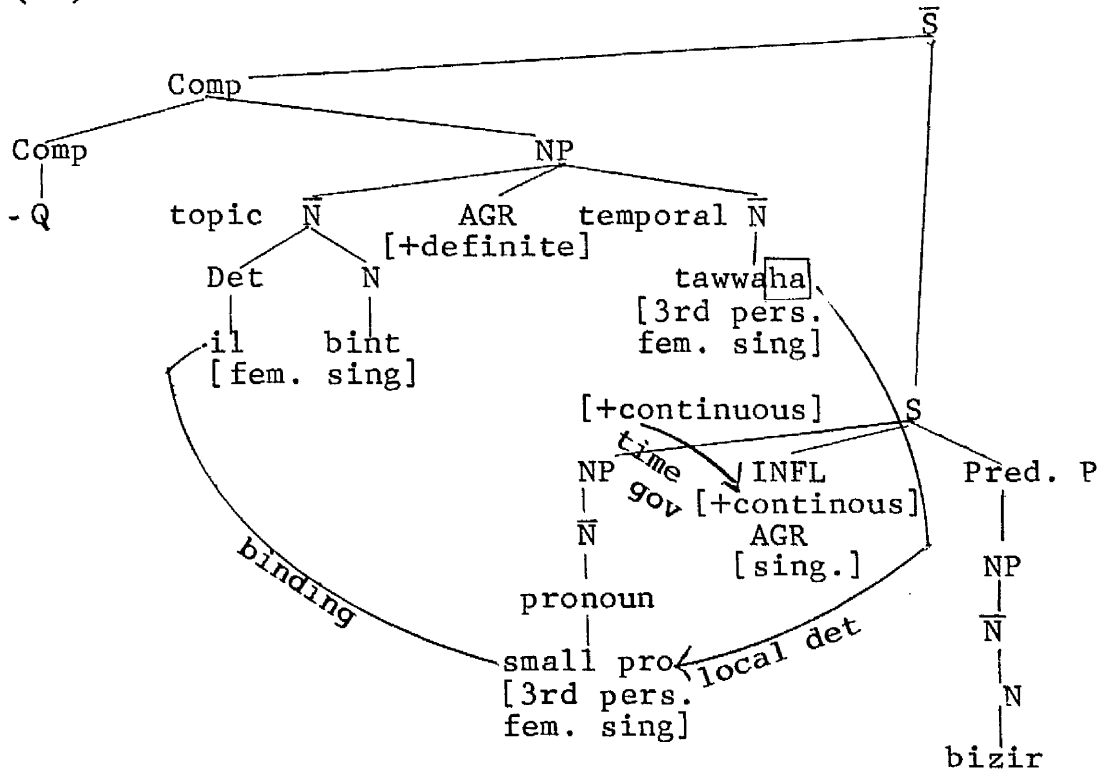
The girl, she is just a child.

(7)

(i)



(ii)



As can be seen from S-structures (7)(i) and (ii), /taww-/ is not in sentence initial position, rather it is in the position prior to the prepredicate position in S node. This is contrary to the fact that whenever there is both a temporal and a topic, it is the temporal that precedes both the topic and its S node so as to determine the time reference of both the S node and its topic. That is, /taww-/ in S-structures (7)(i) and (ii) is not in sentence initial position because it has been

moved by the rule of (TL). But the application of the rule of (TL) to /taww-/ differs from its application to the other temporal nominals ie it is constrained from being moved down in S node. It is simply moved from sentence initial position to the position prior to the prepredicate position in S node. Therefore, sentences (6) are assumed to have the following D-structures before the rule of (TL) applied to them.

8)

- (i) //taww-/ ilhur_umah jaayibtin wileed/

Recently, the woman is bringing a baby boy.

- (ii) //taww-/ innaas jaayiin/

Recently, the people are coming.

- (iii) //taww-/ ilbint bizir/

Recently, the girl is a child.

In these D-structures, /taww-/ is generated as the temporal NP ie in Comp. but the nouns /ilhur_umah/, /innaas/ and /ilbint/ are the definite nouns it introduces and that are generated as the NP subject. Applying the rule of (TL) to /taww-/, it is moved from sentence initial position and moved to the position prior to the prepredicate position in S node. This in turn requires these nouns to be generated as topic NPs and /taww-/, now not

introducing a definite noun, must carry one of the pronominal suffixes with which it is associated. And as these pronominal suffixes function as the local determiner for the generation of a subject small pro, /taww + pronominal suffix/ cannot be moved beyond the position prior to the prepredicate position in S node ie it cannot be moved down in S node and differs in this respect from all the other temporal nominals afore discussed. This is because it is subject to a locality condition that requires it to be adjacent to the prepredicate position in S node so as to allow its pronominal suffixes to locally determine the generation of a subject small pro in this S node which it introduces.

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